

OLIVER CROMWELL
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England. Scotland *and* Ireland. &c.
~~Taken from an Original picture~~ *of S. Cooper in the possession of M. Frankland.*



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THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL, *Lord Protector* OF THE Common-Wealth OF *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

Impartially collected from the beſt Hiſtorians, and ſeveral original MANUSCRIPTS.

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G.R
III.

THE PREFACE.

THE following Sheets contain the Hiſtory of a Perſon of a very ſingular and uncommon Character, who made the greateſt Figure during our late Troubles, and the latter Part of whoſe Life was fill'd with a Variety of great Actions both in War and Policy; who from a private Gentleman of no conſiderable Fortune rais'd himſelf to the higheſt pitch of Power and Grandeur, obtain'd the ſupreme Authority and Command over three Nations, and over-aw'd the moſt powerful Princes and States about us; a Man whoſe good Fortune, in moſt of his great Undertakings, accompany'd him to the laſt, and who after a continued Series of Succeſſes,

died in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Sovereign Power, was interr'd among our Kings with a regal Pomp, and had his Death condoled by the greateſt Princes and States of *Chriſtendom*, in ſolemn Embaſſies to his Son. It being a natural Curioſity in Men to know the Characters of ſuch as have render'd themſelves famous by uncommon Exploits, I judg'd a regular and juſt Account of the Actions, Proceedings, and Management of this extraordinary Man, could not be unacceptable.

AMONG the many who have hitherto wrote of him, very few have done it with Temper, ſome commending, others condemning him, and both out of Meaſure: I have therefore in compiling the following *Life*, taken care to avoid both Extremes, and declining either Panegyrick or Satire, have faithfully related Matters of Fact, and left the Reader to judge of them as he ſhall think fit. I have purpoſely avoided all reproachful Terms and invidious Reflections, which diſcover only the Anger and Malice of an Author, whoſe Buſineſs is only to deſcribe plain Matters of Fact without Prejudice or Partiality. This I have ſincerely endeavour'd to do, having as freely ſet down thoſe Actions of *Cromwell* which carry an ill Aſpect with

with them, as I have thoſe which appear with a better Face, and are by many of his Adverſaries acknowledg'd to be praiſe-worthy. In ſhort, I have neither leſſen'd his bad nor multiply'd his good Deeds, but have had a ſtrict Regard to Truth, as far as I was by good Authorities convinc'd of it.

THE *Lives* that have been hitherto written of this great Man, are manifeſtly faulty in many Reſpects. The Foreign ones are rather *Romances* than *Hiſtories*, being fill'd with ſuch Intrigues, Adventures, and Actions, as our *Engliſh* Writers ſpeak not one Word of. As to thoſe in our own Language, they are either ſuch as diſcover the moſt ſervile Flattery or bittereſt Rancor, or are wrote in an odd ſort of ludicrous Stile; and all of them are exceedingly defective, wholly omitting ſeveral very remarkable Tranſactions and Occurrences, and very imperfectly deſcribing many others. All theſe Faults are carefully avoided in the following Hiſtory, wherein I have endeavour'd to be as plain and intelligible as poſſible, and to omit no material Fact or curious Story I could find ſupported by any good Authorities. Where our own and foreign Writers diſagree in relating the Circumſtances

cumſtances of a Fact, I have follow'd the former, ſuppoſing them to be beſt inform'd; and when any of our own Hiſtorians differ, I uſually take notice of ſuch Difference, that nothing may be related with a greater Appearance of Certainty, than in Proportion to the real Evidence it has to ſupport it. I have perus'd and conſulted the *Lives* above-mention'd, that nothing that is valuable in them might be paſs'd by; tho' I found them ſo very faulty in one Reſpect or other, that I uſually choſe to take the Stories which they have, from ſome other Authors of more approved Credit, rather than from them. So that this is a Work entirely new.

I HAVE been particularly very large upon that nice Period, from the Concluſion of the Civil War to the King's Death, and have given as particular and exact an Account as poſſible of the Differences between the Parliament and Army, of the Management between the King and Parliament, and between the King and the Army, of the Diſſenſions between the Agitators and ſuperior Officers about treating with the King, and how *Cromwell* was induc'd to deſert the King's Intereſt and reconcile himſelf again to the Agitators; all which at laſt brought on the King's Death.

As

The Preface.

As to the Method I have taken in compoſing the following *Life*, it is divided into three Parts, and each Part into ſeveral diſtinct Chapters. The firſt Part contains the Actions of this great Man during the Life of King *Charles* I. to the Death of that unfortunate Monarch: The ſecond deſcribes his Actions under the *Common-wealth* Government, from the King's Death to the Diſſolution of the long Parliament: And the third gives an Account of his Management and Behaviour in his *Protectorſhip*, from the Diſſolution of the ſaid Parliament to his Death. To all this, as a Concluſion, I have added his Character, his magnificent lying in State, and pompous Funeral; as alſo an *Appendix*, containing a more perfect Account of his Pedigree, with ſome Account of his Children, and of the State of Affairs to the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. Strict Regard has been had to the Chronology from one Period to another. By this Method I have conſulted the Reader's Eaſe, as well as his Pleaſure and Profit in the Hiſtory it ſelf.

THE

ERRATA.

PAGE 1. *line* 6. *for* third *read* ſecond, *p.* 2. *l.* 1. *for* noble *r.* nobleſt. *P.* 65. *l.* 25. *for* thus *Ireton* reaſon'd, *r. Ireton* reaſon'd thus. *P.* 208. *l.* 10. *for* finding *r.* having. *p.* 356. *l.* 24. *for* wonderfully *r.* wonderful.

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THE



THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

PART I.

Containing an Account of his Life and Actions, to the Time of the King's *Death.*

CHAP. I.

Some Account of him till the breaking out of the War *between the* King *and* PARLIAMENT.

OLIVER CROMWELL was born at *Huntingdon*, *April* 25. 1599. being descended of an ancient and considerable Family in that County. His Father was Mr. *Robert Cromwell*, third Son of Sir *Henry Cromwell*, and Brother of Sir *Oliver*, who at his House at *Hinchinbrook*, made

His Birth and Descent.

made the noble Entertainment to K. *James* I. at his Acceſſion to the *Engliſh* Crown, that had ever been offer'd by a private Subject. This Sir *Oliver* had a very great Eſtate; but our *Oliver*'s Father being a younger Brother, had not above 300 *l. per Annum.*

His Education and Manner of Life.

Notwithſtanding the lowneſs of his Fortune, he took great Care of his Son's Education, ſending him, when grown up, to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was a Student in *Sidney* College, tho 'twas then obſerv'd, that he was not ſo much inclin'd to Speculation as to Action. Whilſt he was here his Father died, upon which he return'd home, and led an extravagant kind of Life, addicting himſelf to ſuch Follies as young Perſons are too apt to fall into; ſo that his Mother was adviſ'd to ſend him up to *Lincoln*'s Inn, where he betook himſelf to the Study of the Law: But not liking this ſedentary Employment, he ſoon return'd again into the Country, and follow'd his former vicious Courſes, to the waſting of a great part of his Paternal Eſtate. At length he became greatly reform'd, and grew mighty ſober and religious; and having an Eſtate of Four or Five Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, left him by Sir *Robert Steward*, his Uncle by his Mother's ſide, he married *Elizabeth*, Daughter to Sir *James Boucher*.

He falls in with the *Puritans*.

After his Reformation he adher'd for ſome time to the Church of *England*, very devoutly attending on the publick Service; but at length, falling into the hands of ſome *Puritans*, he became a zealous Friend to that Party, frequently entertaining their Miniſters at his Houſe. At this time he is ſaid to have been ſo ſcrupulouſly juſt, that having ſome Years before won thirty Pounds of one Mr. *Calton* at play, he now paid it him back again, telling him that he had got

got it by indirect and unlawful Means, and that it would be a Sin in him to keep it any longer.

We hear nothing of his acting in a publick Capacity till the Year 1628, when he was one of the Committee of Religion in King *Charles*'s third Parliament, and gave Information to the Houſe, that the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* counte-nanc'd ſome who preach'd downright Popery, and that 'twas by his means that Dr. *Manwa-ring* was promoted to a rich Living, concluding, *If theſe be Steps to Church Preferment, what are we ſhortly to expect?* 1628. Is one of the Committee of Religion in King *Charles*'s third Parliament.

About the Year 1638, the King and ſome Lords became Undertakers for draining the Fen-lands in *Lincolnſhire*, and the Iſle of *Ely*. This Project was oppos'd by ſeveral, chiefly by the Town of *Cambridge*; and Mr. *Oliver Crom-well* boldly headed this Party againſt the Un-dertakers for draining the Fens. By this means, and by promiſing his farther Aſſiſtance in their behalf, he got to be elected Burgeſs for the Town of *Cambridge* in 1640, to ſerve in that Parliament which was afterwards call'd the *Long*. 1638. He oppoſes the draining of the Fens. 1640. Is choſen to ſerve in the *Long Parliament*.

In this Parliament he ſoon ſhew'd himſelf a zealous and forward Oppoſer of Grievan-ces in Religion; and 'tis ſaid, that one time when Sir *Thomas Chichely* and Mr. *Warwick* were talking with him in the Houſe about the Affair of Religion, he ſaid, *I can tell you, Sirs, what I wou'd not have, tho I cannot tell what I wou'd.* Concerns himſelf in the Grievances of Religion.

He was a great Promoter of the Commons Grand *Remonſtrance* of all the Grievances in the Nation from the King's Acceſſion to that Time, which was preſented to his Majeſty at his Return from *Scotland*. A Day having been appointed for retaking it into the Conſiderati- 1641. Promotes the Grand Remon-ſtrance.

on of the Houſe, upon its not being call'd for till Noon that Day, 'twas urg'd and conſented to, that it ſhould be deferr'd till the next Morning; upon which Occaſion Mr. *Cromwell* ask'd the Lord *Falkland*, *Why he was for deferring it, ſince that Day wou'd ſoon have determin'd it?* Who anſwer'd, *There would not be time enough, for ſure it would take ſome Debate*; to which the other reply'd, *A very ſorry one*, concluding it wou'd be oppoſed but by a few. But the Debate being enter'd upon about nine the next Morning, continu'd all that Day and the Night following till three in the Morning, when it was carried for the Remonſtrance by nine voices only. And when the Houſe broke up, the Lord *Falkland* ask'd Mr. *Cromwell*, *Whether there had been a Debate?* Who anſwer'd, *He wou'd take his Word another time*; and whiſpering him in the Ear, ſolemnly aſſur'd him, *That if the Remonſtrance had not paſs'd, he would have ſold all he had the next Morning, and never have ſeen* England *more*; *and he knew many other honeſt Men of the ſame Reſolution.* The Difference between the King and Parliament (occaſion'd by evil Counſels on one hand, and continual Jealouſies and Fears on the other) was now grown to ſuch a height, that ſoon after the preſenting this Remonſtrance, it broke out into an open War between them; of which, ſo far as concerns our preſent Purpoſe, we ſhall give ſome Account in the following Chapters.

His Diſcourſe with the Lord *Falkland* upon it.

The Civil War breaks out.

CHAP.

Chap. II.

From the breaking out of the Civil War to the Battle of Marſton-Moor.

Cromwell made Captain of a Troop of Horſe.

AT the breaking out of the War, Mr. *Cromwell* was Commiſſion'd by the Parliament to be Captain of a Troop of Horſe, which he ſpeedily rais'd in his own Country. In liſting them, he had regard to ſuch only as he thought to be ſtout and reſolute; and having compleated his Troop he us'd this Art to prove them: Upon their firſt Muſter, near ſome of the King's Garriſons, he privily plac'd twelve of them in an ambuſcade, who with a Trumpet ſounding a Charge, made furiouſly towards the Body, of which above twenty, thinking they came from the Enemy, preſently fled for fear, whom *Cromwell* immediatety caſhier'd, and mounted their Horſes with ſuch as were more bold and couragious.

His Stratagem to try their Courage.

He ſecures *Cambridge*.

The Univerſity of *Cambridge* being not far off him, he very ſeaſonably ſecured it for the Parliament, when a great Quantity of the College Plate was juſt upon the Point of being convey'd to the King at *Oxford*. And ſo active and induſtrious was he, that when Sir *Henry Connisby*, High-Sheriff of *Hertfordſhire*, was going to proclaim the Parliament and their General the Earl of *Eſſex* Traytors, at St. *Alban*'s on a Market-Day, he ruſhed unawares into the Town with a Party of Horſe, ſurpriz'd the Sheriff and his Aſſiſtants, and ſent them Priſoners to *London*, to the no ſmall Satisfaction of the Parliament, who gave him the Thanks

Takes the High Sheriff of *Hertfordſhire*.

of the Houſe, from this Time looking upon him as a very promiſing Perſon for their Service.

1643. He is made a Colonel.

In the Year 1643, he was advanc'd to the Degree of a Colonel, and by his own Management rais'd a Regiment of a thouſand Horſe, with which he rang'd about, and with great Induſtry obſtructed many Levies for the King in *Cambridgeſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; and particularly he defeated the Project of a Counter-Aſſociation for the King's Service, contrived by Sir *John Pettus*, Sir *Edward Barker*, and other Gentlemen, at the Town of *Leſtoff* in *Suffolk*, with great Secrecy and Celerity entering the Town and ſurprizing them all. After this he was ſent to guard ſome Ammunition from *Warwick* to *Gloceſter*, and by the way took in *Hilſden*-Houſe, and in it Sir *Alexander Denton* the Owner, Colonel *Smith*, many inferior Officers, about a hundred Horſe, thirteen Barrels of Powder, and about an hundred and fifty common Soldiers, beſides forty ſlain; then he gave an Alarm to *Oxford*, and ſo went on to *Gloceſter*.

Takes in *Hilſden*-Houſe.

Made Lieutenant-General to the E. of *Manchester* and routs the King's Troops near *Grantham*.

Being now made Lieutenant-General to the Earl of *Manchester*, he marched towards *Newark*, and block'd up that Garriſon; after which meeting with twenty four Troops of the King's Horſe and Dragoons near *Grantham*, he encounter'd them with ſuch Fury and Reſolution, that, tho he had but ſeven Troops with him, he entirely routed them.

The Earl of *Newcaſtle* being inform'd, that the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* had got Poſſeſſion of the Town of *Gainsborough* for the Parliament, ſent his Brother Colonel *Cavendiſh*, Lieutenant-General of his Army, with a great Party of Horſe and Dragoons, to ſummon it, himſel

himſelf marching after with the Foot. Upon this *Cromwell* reſolv'd to attempt the Relief of that Place, and with twelve Troops of Horſe and Dragoons march'd thither, where he found the Enemy, who were drawn up near the Town, to be more than thrice his Number, and no way to attack them, but through a Gate and up Hill; notwithſtanding which Diſadvantages, he undauntedly fell upon them, and after ſome Diſpute, entirely defeated them, killing many of their Officers, and amongſt them, Lieutenant General *Cavendiſh*. Relieves *Gainsborough*.

Thus was *Gainsborough* reliev'd; but the Victors had but a ſhort Time of rejoicing, for within two or three Hours, the routed Enemy rallying, and joining with the reſt of *Newcaſtle*'s Army, march'd againſt them; whereupon they retreated to *Lincoln* that Night in good Order, and without any loſs, facing the Enemy with three Troops at a Time, whilſt they drew off the reſt. *Lincoln* not being defenſible, *Cromwell* march'd the next Day to *Boſton*, to join the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who with his new rais'd Forces, had very ſeaſonably reduced *Lynn* under the Power of the Parliament. Marches to *Boſton*.

To prevent any farther Addition to *Mancheſter*'s Forces, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* advanc'd with his Army, and detach'd a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Dragoons towards *Boſton*, appearing, by their Standards, to be eighty ſeven Troops, commanded by Sir *John Henderſon* an old Soldier, who underſtanding that Colonel *Cromwell* was drawn out towards him with the Horſe and Dragoons, made haſte to engage him, before the Earl of *Mancheſter*, with the Foot, could march up; as accordingly it happen'd at a Place call'd *Windſby-field*, near *Horn-* 1644.

Is in great danger

Caſtle. In the firſt Shock *Cromwell*'s Horſe was killed and fell upon him, and as he roſe, he was again knock'd down by the Gentleman that charg'd him, ſuppos'd to be Sir *Ingram Hopton*, though others ſay Captain *Portington*, who afterwards plainly told him, *That he aim'd at his Noſe, when he hit his Horſe on the Head.* He never was in more Danger in his Life; but with difficulty he got remounted, and charged the Enemy with great Reſolution. The Encounter was very ſharp, but laſtednot an Hour, before the Royaliſts were entirely routed by *Mancheſter*'s Troops, many of them being kill'd, amongſt whom was the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Ingram Hopton*, and other Perſons of Quality. The routed Forces were perſued by the Parliamentarians almoſt as far as *Lincoln*; in which purſuit ſeveral of them were kill'd and taken Priſoners, and many Horſes and Arms taken. In purſuance of this Victory, the Earl of *Mancheſter* march'd directly to *Lincoln*, ſat down before it, and ſummon'd it, and afterwards took it by Storm, with very inconſiderable Loſs.

Advances to the Siege of *York*.

After this, the Earl, with his Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, advanced to reinforce the Siege of *York*, which was then beleagured by the *Scotch* General *Leven*, and the Lord *Fairfax*. Soon after Prince *Rupert* arriving with about eighteen thouſand Men, cauſed the Beſiegers to raiſe the Siege; who joining their Forces, reſolv'd to watch his Motions, and to fight him if they found Occaſion: But a little to refreſh themſelves, and furniſh themſelves, with Proviſions, which they wanted, they marched towards *Tadcaſter*.

The Prince elevated with Succeſs, and not thinking it enough to have relieved the City,

if

if he did not alſo defeat the Enemy, contrary to the Advice of thoſe that were with him, he march'd after them, and finding them at *Marſton-Moor*, forc'd them to a Battle; in which the left Wing of his Army, commanded by himſelf, charging the Parliament's Right, ſo totally routed them, that the three Parliament Generals, *Leven*, *Fairfax*, and *Mancheſter*, quitted the Field, and fled towards *Cawood*-Caſtle. Here the Prince purſu'd his Enemies too far, which loſt him the Day. The three Generals, being thus beaten out of the Field, the Honour of the Day fell to *Cromwell*; for the left Wing of the Parliament's Army, commanded by him, engag'd the Prince's right, commanded by the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, who had gain'd an advantageous Piece of Ground upon *Marſton-Moor*, and caus'd a Battery to be erected upon it, from which Captain *Walton*, *Cromwell*'s Siſter's Son, was wounded by a Shot in the Knee: Hereupon *Cromwell* order'd two Field Pieces to be brought for annoying the Enemy, appointing two Regiments of Foot to guard them; who marching for that End, were ſet upon by the Foot of the Prince's right Wing, that fir'd thick upon them from the Ditches. Upon this both Sides ſeconding their Foot, were wholly engag'd, who before had only ſtood facing one another. The Horſe on each Side fought with the utmoſt Bravery and Courage; for having diſcharg'd their Piſtols and flung them at each others Heads, they fell to it with their Swords; but after a very obſtinate Diſpute, the Victory was obtain'd by *Cromwell*'s Brigade, Prince *Rupert* s right Wing being totally routed and flying, and the Parliament's Horſe purſuing and killing many of them in their flight. And now the left Wing of the Prince's Army, who had been Victors,

Gains the Battle of *Marſton-Moor*.

Victors, came back to their former Ground, being confident of Victory, and utterly ignorant of what had befallen the right; but before they could put themſelves into any order, they were charg'd and entirely routed by the Reſerves of *Cromwell*'s Brigade. The Number of the ſlain were computed at eight Thouſand. Sir *Charles Lucas*, Major General *Porter*, Major General *Tilyard*, with about a hundred Officers more, were taken Priſoners by the Parliament's Forces. All the Artillery, great Numbers of Arms, and a good Quantity of Ammunition and Baggage, fell alſo into their Hand's; the Prince's own Standard, with the Arms of the *Palatinate*, was likewiſe taken, with many others both of Horſe and Foot. This famous Battle was fought on the 2d Day of *July*. *Cromwell* was greatly cry'd up for his Bravery and Conduct, and gain'd the Name of *Ironſides* from the impenetrable Strength of his Troops, which could by no Means be broken or divided. Prince *Rupert* and his Confederates being thus defeated, they quarrel'd among themſelves, one reproaching the other for this Miſcarriage; whereupon the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and others of Quality, departed out of the Kingdom. The Siege of *York* was now renew'd, which City deſpairing of freſh Succours, was ſoon ſurrender'd to the Parliament by Sir *Thomas Glemham*, who had been left ſole Governor of it.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

From the Battle of Marſton-moor *to the Battle of* Naſeby.

CROMWELL began now to be very much taken notice of, ſome admiring and others envying his great Succeſs, and dreading his aſpiring Temper and enterprizing Genius. The Lord General *Eſſex*, and the *Scotch* Commiſſioners were particularly jealous of him, ſo that they were once in conſultation, together with Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Meyrick*, and others, how to get rid of him, and ſent to Serjeant *Maynard* and *Whitelock* about it; who being come, the Earl of *Eſſex* told them, that he ſent for them to have their Advice and Counſel upon a Matter of great Importance to both Kingdoms; whereupon, at his Deſire, the Chancellor of *Scotland* ſpake to them in the *Scotch* Dialect as follows:

Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Scotch* Commiſſioners jealous of *Cromwell*.

Mr. Maynard *and Mr.* Whitlock, *I can aſſure you of the great Opinion both my Brethren and ſelf have of your Worth and Abilities, elſe we ſhould not have deſir'd this Meeting with you: And ſince it is his Excellency's Pleaſure, that I ſhould acquaint you with the Matter upon whilk your Counſel is deſir'd, I ſhall obey his Command, and briefly recite the Buſineſs to you.*

Chancellor *Lowden's* Speech againſt him

You ken very weele, that Lieutenant General Cromwell *is no Friend of ours; and ſince the Advance of our Army into* England, *he has us'd all under-hand and cunning means to take off from our Honour, and Merit of this Kingdom, an evil Requital*

quital of our Hazards and Services; but ſo it is, and we are nevertheleſs fully ſatisfy'd of the Affections and Gratitude of the gude People of the Nation in general.

It is thought requiſite for us, and for carrying on the Cauſe of the twa Kingdoms, that this Obſtacle or Remora be remov'd out of the way, whom we foreſee will be no ſmall impediment to us in the gude Deſign we have undertaken.

He not only is no Friend to us and the Government of our Church, but he is alſo no well-willer to his Excellency, whom you and we have all Cauſe to love and honour; and if he be permitted to go on this Way, it may, I fear, endanger the whole Buſineſs; therefore we are to adviſe of ſome Courſe to be taken for prevention of this Miſchief.

You ken very weele the Accord betwixt the twa Nations, and the Union by the Solemn League *and* Covenant; *and if any be an* Incendiary *between the twa Nations, how he is to be proceeded againſt. Now the Matter is, wherein we deſire your Opinions, what you take the meaning of the Word* Incendiary *to be, and whether the Lieutenant General be not ſick an* Incendiary, *as is meant thereby; and whilk way wud be beſt to proceed againſt him, if he be prov'd ſick an* Incendiary, *and that we may clepe his Wings from ſoaring to the prejudice of our Cauſe.*

Now you may ken, that by our Law in Scotland, *we clepe him an* Incendiary *wha kindleth Coals of Contention, and raiſeth Differences in the State, to the publick Damage; and he is* tanquam publicus hoſtis patriæ. *Whether your Law be the ſame or not, you ken beſt, who are mickle learned therein, and therefore we deſire your Judgments in theſe Points.*

To this Mr. *Whitlock* anſwer'd, 'That the 'ſenſe of the Word *Incendiary*, was the ſame 'here

'here as in *Scotland*; but whether Lieutenant 'General *Cromwell* be ſuch an Incendiary muſt 'be prov'd, either by his Words or Actions: 'That he look'd upon him to be a Gentleman of 'quick and ſubtile Parts, and who had a great 'Intereſt in both Houſes of Parliament, and 'that it would be needful to collect ſuch parti-'cular Paſſages concerning him, as might be 'ſufficient to prove him an Incendiary, before 'they could expect the Parliament ſhould pro-'ceed againſt him.' Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and ſome others gave an Accouut of ſome particular Paſſages and Words of *Cromwell*'s, and ſaid, that he had not that Intereſt in the Parliament as was ſuppos'd, and that they would willingly be upon the Accuſation of him; but the *Scotch* Commiſſioners were not ſo ready to join with them in it, and ſo the Lieutenant General eſcap'd.

Cromwell was now alſo very much dreaded by the King's Party. His Majeſty being at *Oxford*, was willing to have the particular Advice of that known Stateſman Archbiſhop *Williams*; and ſo wrote to him at *Aberconway* in *Wales* to come to him. The Archbiſhop accordingly waiting on the King, advis'd him by all Means to come to an Agreement with the Parliament; for ſince the *Scots* were come into *England* in ſuch numerous Armies, and the *Engliſh* of the Parliament's Party, in theſe two laſt Years, had acquir'd a Military Knowledge, it would in all Appearance, be impoſſible for the King long to reſiſt their Forces. But above all, he warned him to have a Care of *Cromwell*, declaring him to be the moſt dangerous Enemy the King had; and therefore humbly moved, that either he wou'd win him over to his Side by Promiſes of fair Treat-

Archbp. *Williams* warns the King of him.

Treatment, or catch him by ſome Stratagem, and cut him ſhort. This is ſaid to have made ſuch an Impreſſion on the King, that he was heard to ſay, *I would ſome would do me the good Service to bring* Cromwell *to me alive or dead.*

About four Months after the Fight at *Marſton-moor*, happen'd the ſecond Battle of *Newbury*, where *Cromwell* is ſaid to have endanger'd the King's Perſon, had not the Earl of *Cleveland* interpos'd, and bore off the purſuit. This Battle was the Occaſion of an irreconcilable Breach between him and the Earl of *Manchester*. *Cromwell* accus'd the Earl of cowardly betraying the Parliament, for that he might very eaſily have defeated the King's Army, when he drew off his Cannon, if he would have ſuffer'd him with his own Brigade, to have charg'd them in their Retreat; but that the Earl obſtinately oppos'd all Advice and Importunity, giving no other Reaſon, than *That if he did overthrow the King's Army, the King would always have another to keep up the War; but if his Army ſhould be overthrown at that nice Juncture, they ſhould be all Rebels and Traitors, and executed and forfeited by the Law.* This laſt Expreſſion was heinouſly taken by the Parliament, as if the Earl believ'd the Law was againſt them, after they had ſo often declar'd, That the Law was on their Side. The Earl acknowledg'd, 'That he had in effect ſaid, 'That they would be treated as Traytors if their 'Army was defeated, when he diſlik'd the 'Lieutenant General's Advice, in expoſing the 'Army to an unreaſonable hazard.' And then recriminating upon his Adverſary, ſaid 'That at 'another Time, *Cromwell* freely diſcourſing 'with him of the State of the Kingdom, and 'propoſing an Expedient, the Earl anſwer'd, 'That

Difference between him and the Earl of *Manchester*.

That the Parliament would never approve it; to which *Cromwell* immediately reply'd, *My Lord, if you will ſtick firm to honeſt Men, you will find an Army at your command, that will give the Law to King and Parliament?* Which Diſcourſe, he ſaid, made a great impreſſion upon him; and finding him a Man of very deep Deſigns, he was the more careful to preſerve an Army, which he believ'd ſtill faithful to the Parliament.' Theſe Matters were never thoroughly examin'd, tho the Animoſities encreaſed, and the Parties on both Sides openly appear'd againſt each other, to the dividing of the City, as well as of the Parliament.

A mighty Party in the Parliament began now to be diſſatisfy'd with their old Generals, thinking them too much inclin'd to a Peace with the King, and too great Favourers of the Presbyterian Party. Hereupon they are for having the Army new model'd, and, that their old Friends might be the more civilly diſmiſſed from their Military Poſts, they endeavour to procure an Ordinance, for incapacitating all Members of Parliament for ſuch Poſts. *Cromwell* was a great promoter of this Deſign, and after ſome had led the Way, made a Speech in the Houſe for that purpoſe, declaring, 'That there were many things, upon which he never reflected before, yet upon Re-conſideration, he could not but own that all was very true; and till there was a perfect Re-formation in thoſe Particulars recommended to them, nothing they took in hand would proſper: That the Parliament had done wiſe in the beginning of the War, to engage many of their Members in the moſt dangerous Parts of it, that the Nation might ſee they deſign'd not to embark others in Perils, whilſt themſelves

His ſpeech in Parliament for the Self-denying Ordinance

'ſat

'ſat ſecurely out of Gun-ſhot, but would march 'with them where the Danger moſt threaten'd; 'and thoſe honourable Perſons, who had thus 'expos'd themſelves, had merited ſo much of 'their Country, that their Memories would be 'held in perpetual Veneration; and whatever 'ſhould be well done after them, would be im-'puted to their Example. But now God had 'ſo bleſſed their Army, that there had grown 'up with it many excellent Officers, who were 'fitter for much greater Charges than they now 'enjoy'd; therefore he deſir'd them not to be 'terrify'd with an Imagination, that they ſhould 'want able Men to fill the greateſt Vacancy; 'for beſides, that it was not good to put ſo 'much Truſt in any Arm of Fleſh, as to think 'ſuch a Cauſe as this depended upon any one 'Man, ſo he aſſur'd them, that they had Offi-'cers in their Army, who were fit to be Gene-'rals in any Enterprize in *Chriſtendom.*' He added, 'He thought nothing ſo neceſſary as to 'vindicate the Parliament from Partiality to-'wards their own Members; and proffer'd to 'lay down his own Commiſſion in the Army, 'and deſir'd, That an Ordinance might be pre-'par'd, to make it unlawful for any Member 'of either Houſe to hold any Office in the Ar-'my, or any Place in the State;' and ſo con-cluded with an Enlargement upon the Vices and Corruptions crept into the Army, and freely told them, 'That till the whole Army were new mo-'del'd and brought under ſtricter Diſcipline, 'they muſt not expect any remarkable Succeſs 'in any Undertaking.' In concluſion a Com-mittee was appointed to prepare an Ordinance for the Excluſion of all Members from the fore-mention'd Truſts, which took up much Time and was long debated, but in the End paſs'd, and

and was call'd *the ſelf-denying Ordinance.* After this the Army, which had been much diminiſh'd by Sickneſs and a late Defeat in the Weſt, was order'd to be recruited to one and twenty Thouſand Men, namely, fourteen Thouſand Foot, ſix Thouſand Horſe, and one Thouſand Dragoons; and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was commiſſion'd General. They who were remov'd from their Commands in the Army by the ſelf-denying Ordinance, were the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, the Earl of *Denbigh*, the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *William Waller*, Lord *Gray* of *Grooby*, Major-General *Maſſy*, &c. *Cromwell* was likewiſe to have loſt his Command, and came to *Windſor* to take leave of the new General; but ſuch Intereſt had been made in the Committee of both Kingdoms at *Weſtminſter*, or they were ſo ſenſible of his rare Talent for War, that they had ſent Orders to General *Fairfax* to detach a Party of Horſe to lie between *Oxford* and *Worceſter*, for intercepting the Correſpondence between the King and Prince *Rupert*, and particularly recommended Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* for that Service; who went away with a good Party of Horſe and Dragoons, and defeated a Brigade of the King's Horſe at *Iſlip*-Bridge, kill'd ſeveral, and took five hundred Horſe, and two hundred Priſoners, whereof ſeveral were Officers and Perſons of Quality, as alſo the Queen's Standard, beſides many other Trophies of Honour

1645. The Army new modell'd.

Cromwell's Succeſs at *Iſlip-Bridge.*

He purſued the routed Remnant to *Blenchington*-Houſe, where Colonel *Windebank* commanded; who being ſummon'd by victorious *Cromwell*, and perſuaded by his beautiful young Bride and the Ladies that came to viſit her, ſurrender'd the Place, with all the Arms and Ammunition; for which he was ſhot to Death at *Oxford* by Sentence of a Council of War.

He takes *Blenching ton*-Houſe

His farther Succeſs.

About the ſame Time alſo, *Cromwell* forc'd Sir *William Vaughan* and Lieutenant Colonel *Littleton*, with three Hundred and fifty Men, into *Bampton-Buſh*, where he took them both, and two Hundred of their Men Priſoners, with their Arms; and ſent Colonel *Fiennes* after another Party, who took a Hundred and fifty Horſe, three Colonels, and Forty common Soldiers Priſoners, with their Arms. Being afterwards reinforc'd by about five Hundred Foot from Colonel *Brown*, *Cromwell* attempted the reducing of *Faringdon*-Houſe, and ſtormed it; but it was ſo gallantly defended by Sir *George Liſle*, that he was forc'd to draw off, having loſt Fifty of his Men; and in his Retreat he was attack'd by a Party of Lieutenant *Goring*'s Horſe, lately come from the Siege of *Taunton*, who got from him three Colours, and took Major *Bethel* Priſoner.

He is repuls'd at *Faringdon*-Houſe.

The Lord General *Fairfax* began his March in order to relieve *Taunton*. But the Committee of both Kingdoms underſtanding, that Prince *Rupert* was advancing towards *Oxford*, order'd him to ſtop his March, and to ſend only a Party of about three Thouſand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horſe to *Taunton*, whilſt he with the reſt of his Army march'd back to join *Cromwell* and *Brown*, that they might attend the King's Motions with their united Forces. The King being join'd by Prince *Rupert*, march'd into *Worceſterſhire* and deſign'd to relieve *Cheſter*, which had been a great while beſieged by the Parliament's Forces under Sir *William Brereton*; who, when the King was come within twenty Miles of *Cheſter*, rais'd his Siege, and return'd into *Lancaſhire*. Upon this, the King diverted his Courſe towards *Leiceſter*, and coming before the Place, took it by Storm.

Is join'd by *Fairfax*.

In

In the mean Time the Lords and Commons agreed with the Commitee of both Kingdoms, that General *Fairfax* ſhould inveſt *Oxford*, that important Head-Quarter of the King. Accordingly the General brought up his Army near *Oxford* and laid Siege to it, having his own Quarters at *Marſton*, *Cromwell* at *Wileham*, and *Brown* at *Wolvercott*. After fifteen Days ſpent without Action, the Parliament being ſtartled at the Loſs of *Leiceſter*, ſent expreſs Orders to *Fairfax* to march away with his Army; which he accordingly did on the ninth of *June*.

The King was marching from *Leiceſter* with Deſign to relieve *Oxford*; but hearing the Siege was rais'd, he returned towards *Northampton*, cauſing great Terror to the aſſociated Parts. *Cromwell*, before the breaking up of the Siege, had been call'd from thence to the Iſle of *Ely*, to ſupport the Aſſociation, and was ſhortly to attend his Place in Parliament, according to the late Ordinance: But upon a Reſolution of the Council of War, the General wrote to them, deſiring them to diſpenſe with *Cromwell*'s Abſence from the Houſe, and to appoint him Lieutenant-General of the Horſe. The Parliament being ſenſible of his great Uſefulneſs in the Field, readily comply'd with this Requeſt, and accordingly commiſſion'd him Lieutenant-General of Horſe to the whole Army. Hereupon *Cromwell* being recruited with ſix hundred Horſe and Dragoons, came out of the aſſociated Parts, and join'd with *Fairfax* and his main Army at *Gilsborough*, four Miles from *Northampton*.

Is made Lieutenant General of the Horſe, notwithſtanding the ſelf-denying Ordinance.

The King having tarried a little at *Borough-Hill*, drew off from thence towards *Harborough*, and deſign'd to march to *Pomfret*, thinking if he were follow'd by the Parliament's Forces,

he ſhould fight with greater Advantage Northward. But *Ireton*, by *Cromwell*'s Advice, being ſent out with a flying Party of Horſe, fell upon a Party of the King's Rere, quarter'd in *Naſeby* Town, and took many Priſoners, ſome of Prince *Rupert*'s Life-Guard, and *Langdale*'s Brigade; which gave ſuch an Alarm to the whole royal Army, that the King at Midnight left his own Quarters, and for Security haſtened to *Harborough*, where the Van of his Army lay. Here calling up Prince *Rupert*, he ſummoned a Council of War, in which it was reſolv'd (chiefly thro' the Prince's eagerneſs, old Commanders being much againſt it) to give the Enemy Battle; and ſince *Fairfax* had been ſo forward, they would no longer ſtay for him but ſeek him out. Accordingly being come near *Naſeby*, there they found him; and both Armies being drawn up in Battalia, fac'd each other. Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* commanded the right Wing of the royal Army, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the left, and the King himſelf the main Body; the Earl of *Lindſey*, and *Jacob* Lord *Aſtley*, the right Hand Reſerve, and the Lord *Bard*, and Sir *George Liſle*, the left Reſerve. The right Wing of the Parliament's Army was led by Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, the left by Colonel *Ireton*, the main Body by General *Fairfax* and Major-General *Skippon*, who fought ſtoutly, tho' ſorely wounded in the Beginning of the Fight; and the Reſerves were brought up by *Rainsborough*, *Hammond*, and *Pride*. The Place of Action was a large fallow Field, on the North-Weſt Side of *Naſeby*, above a Mile broad; which Space of Ground was wholly taken up by the two Armies.

All

All things being disposed, on *June* 14, at ten in the Morning, the Battle began with more than civil Rage, the Royalists Word being *God and Queen* Mary, and the others, *God with us.* Prince *Rupert* gave the first Charge, and engaged the Parliament's left Wing with great Resolution. *Ireton* made gallant Resistance, but was forc'd at last to give Ground, his Horse being shot under him, and himself run thro the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halbert, and taken Prisoner, till upon the turn of the Battle he regain'd his Liberty. The Prince chas'd the Enemy almost to *Naseby* Town, and in his Return summoned the Train, and visited the Carriages where was good Plunder; but here, as in the Battle of *Marston-Moor*, his long Stay so far from the main Body, was no small prejudice to the King's Army. The Battle of *Naseby.*

For *Cromwell* in the mean Time charg'd furiously on the King's left Wing, and that with good Success, forcing them from the Body, and prosecuting the Advantage, quite broke them, and their Reserve: After which, joining with *Fairfax*, he charg'd the King's Foot, who had beaten the Parliament's and got Possession of their Ordnance, and thought themselves sure of the Victory; but being now in Confusion, and having no Horse to support them, they were easily overborn by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell.* By this Time the King was join'd by Prince *Rupert*, return'd from his fatal Success; but the Horse could never be brought to rally themselves again in Order, or to charge the Enemy; upon which the Lord *Clarendon* says, That Difference was observed all along in the Discipline of the King's Troops, and of those under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, (it having never And his Success there.

Good Discipline of the Troops under him and *Fairfax.*

never been remarkable under *Eſſex* or *Waller*, but only under them) That tho the King's Troops prevail'd in the Charge, and routed thoſe they charg'd, they ſeldom rally'd themſelves again in Order, nor could be brought to make a ſecond Charge again the ſame Day; which was the Reaſon that they had not an entire Victory at *Edge-Hill*; whereas the Troops under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, if they prevail'd, or tho they were beaten and routed, preſently rally'd again, and ſtood in good Order, till they receiv'd further Directions. In fine, with all that the King and Prince could do, they could not rally their broken Troops, which ſtood in ſufficient Numbers upon the Place; ſo that they were forc'd at laſt to quit the Field, leaving a compleat Victory to the Parliament's Party, who purſu'd them within two Miles of *Leiceſter*; and the King finding the Purſuit ſo hot, fled from thence to *Aſhby-de-la-zouch*, and then to *Litchfield*, and ſo for a ſafer Retreat into *Wales*.

Victory at *Naſeby* owing to his Valour.

Thus ended the famous Battle of *Naſeby*, in which the wonderful Succeſs of the Parliament Party was chiefly owing to *Cromwell*'s Valour and good Conduct, who flew like Lightning from one Part of the Army to the other, and break thro' the Enemies Squadrons with ſuch Rapidity, that nothing either could, or durſt ſtop him. 'Tis ſaid, that in this Action, a Commander of the King's knowing *Cromwell*, advanc'd briskly from the Head of his Troops, to exchange a ſingle Bullet with him, and was with equal Bravery encounter'd by him, both ſides forbearing to come in, till their Piſtols being diſcharg'd, the *Cavalier* with a ſlaunting back Blow of a broad Sword, chanc'd to cut the Ribbon that tied

tied *Cromwell*'s Murrion, and with a draw threw it off his Head; and now juſt going to repeat his Stroke, *Cromwell*'s Party came in and reſcu'd him; and one of them alighting, threw up his Head-piece into his Saddle, which he haſtily catching, clapt it on the wrong way, and ſo bravely fought with it the reſt of the Day, which prov'd ſo very fortunate on his Side.

The King's Loſs in this Battle was irreparable; for beſides that there were ſlain above a hundred and fifty Officers, and Gentlemen of Quality, moſt of his Foot were taken Priſoners, with all his Cannon and Baggage, eight Thouſand Arms and other rich Booty; among which was alſo his Majeſty's own Cabinet, where were repoſited his moſt ſecret Papers, and Letters between him and his Queen, which ſhew'd how contrary his Counſels with her were to thoſe he declar'd to the Kingdom; for in one of them he declares his Intention, *to make Peace with the* Iriſh, *and to have forty Thouſand of them over into* England *to proſecute the War here*; and in another he complains, That *he could not prevail with his mungrel Parliament at* Oxford, *to vote, that the two Houſes at* Weſtminſter *were not a lawful Parliament*; ſo little Thanks, as one obſerves, who was no Enemy to his Majeſty, had theſe noble Lords and Gentlemen, for expoſing their Lives and Fortunes in Defenſe of the King in his Adverſity; what then might they expect, if he ſhould prevail by Conqueſt? In thoſe Letters alſo, he tells the Queen, *That he would not make a Peace with the Rebels* [the Parliament] *without her Approbation, nor go one Jot from the Paper ſhe ſent him: That in the Treaty at* Uxbridge, *he did not poſitively own the Parliament, it be-*

The King's Cabinet, with his Letters and Papers taken

Coke.

ing otherwiſe to be conſtrued, tho they were ſo ſimple as not to find it out; and that it was recorded in the Notes of the King's Council, That he did not acknowledge them a Parliament. Theſe and many other Papers relating to the Publick, were printed with Obſervations, and kept upon Record, by Order of the two Houſes, who alſo made a publick Declaration of them, ſhewing what the Nobility and Gentry, who follow'd the King, were to expect.

CHAP. IV.

From the Battle of Naſeby, *to the Concluſion of the firſt civil War.*

THE Battle of *Naſeby* was truly a deciding Battle; for from this grand Period the King's Affairs became deſperate, and his whole Party began to moulder away, and moſt ſenſibly to decline every where. The Parliament's Army had no ſooner gain'd this wonderful Advantage, but like a Torrent they ſoon overflow'd the whole Kingdom, bearing down all before them. *Leiceſter* was immediately regain'd without any conſiderable Oppoſition. From thence they march'd to the Relief of *Taunton*, which being beſieg'd by *Goring*'s Army, had made a wonderful Reſiſtance under the Command of the valiant *Blake*. Upon the Approach of the Parliament's Forces, *Goring* drew off his Army towards *Langport*; and being Maſter of the ſeveral Paſſes on the River, hop'd to have declin'd fighting, and ſecur'd his Retreat towards *Bridgewater*: But the others drew down their Ordnance with ſuch Advantage, that whilſt they did great Execu-

Execution on *Goring*'s Army, their Foot resolutely gain'd the Pass, and the Horse advanced over; when they so bravely engag'd the Enemy, that they soon put them to flight, charging them almost to *Bridgewater*. *Cromwell* in this Action shew'd much Prudence as well as Courage; for he would not suffer Part of the Horse to pursue the Enemy, till they were all come up together, and then himself leading them on, perform'd the Work with such Success, that he took almost all their Foot and Ordnance.

Cromwell's Conduct in the Battle of Langport.

After this Victory, 'twas resolv'd in a Council of War, to storm the strong Garison of *Bridgewater*. Accordingly they began the Assault on the 22d of *July*, and forc'd a Surrender the very next Day. The taking of this Place was a very great Advantage to the Parliament; for thereby a Line of Garisons was drawn over the Country from the *Severn* to the South Coasts, by *Bridgewater*, *Taunton*, *Lime* and *Langport*; whereby the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, then wholly at the King's Devotion, except *Plymouth*, were in a manner block'd up from all intercourse with the Eastern Parts.

Bridgewater taken.

The mercileſs Rapines and Violence practis'd by the Royalists in the Western Parts, had occasion'd the rising of a third Kind of Army, which suddenly starting up in divers Counties, assembled to the Number of five or six Thousand of the middle Sort of Men. These soon had the Name of *Club-Men*, and were encouraged by several Gentlemen of the Country, who entertain'd particular Hopes from this Insurrection. This Army of *Club-Men* for some Time became very formidable to both Parties, each of them endeavouring to gain them over

Cromwell suppresses the Club-Men.

over to themſelves. But having for ſome Months ſtood upon their own Defence, and moleſted both Armies, they were at laſt very ſeaſonably ſuppreſs'd and diſpers'd by the Parliament Forces under Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*; who, together with *Fairfax*, daily gained Ground in thoſe Parts.

Aſſiſts at the Siege of *Briſtol.*

Briſtol was a Place of very great Importance, which Prince *Rupert*, with about five thouſand Horſe and Foot, held for the King. It was now therefore thought requiſite to beſiege it for the Parliament, and accordingly the Army was drawn up towards it. The General being come before it, ſummon'd Prince *Rupert* to deliver up the Town; but upon his Refuſal, it was adviſ'd by *Cromwell* and ſome other chief Officers to ſtorm part of it: Which accordingly was executed with ſo much Fury, that the Prince thought not fit to run the Hazard of a ſecond Aſſault, but immediately ſurrender'd that great and well fortify'd City to the Parliament General; whereby the King loſt all his chief Magazines and warlike Proviſions, and conſequently in a ſhort time *South-Wales* and all the Weſt of *England*. Upon this his Majeſty wrote a ſharp Letter to Prince *Rupert*, in which he ſays, *I muſt remember you of yours of the* 12th *of* Auguſt, *whereby you aſſur'd me, That if no Mutiny happened, you would keep* Briſtol *for four Months; did you keep it four Days? Was there any thing like a Mutiny? My Concluſion is, to deſire you to ſeek your Subſiſtance, until it ſhall pleaſe God to determine of my Condition, ſome where beyond Seas; to which end I ſend you herewith a Paſs*, &c.

Takes the Caſtle of the *Deviſes.*

Briſtol being thus reduc'd, *Cromwell* preſently takes with him a Brigade of four Regiments

ments, and marches to the ſtrong Caſtle of the *Devizes*, whoſe natural Strength was much improv'd by the Ingenuity of its Governour, Sir *Charles Lloyd*, who looking upon it to be almoſt impregnable, return'd no other Anſwer to *Cromwell*'s firſt Summons, but *Win it and wear it*. But as if nothing could be a ſufficient Defenſe againſt this victorious Commander, whoſe very Name began now to ſtrike Terror to his Enemies, the Governour was ſoon brought to Terms, and forc'd to deliver up the Place to him.

Reduces *Wincheſter*.

After this, *Cromwell* haſtens to *Wincheſter*, and in his March diſarms and diſperſes the *Hampſhire* Club-Men thereabouts. Being come before the Town, he found it fortify'd; but after a ſhort Diſpute, he fir'd the Gate, and his Men enter'd. This done, he ſummon'd the Caſtle; which not ſurrendering, he planted ſix Guns, and after firing them round, ſent a ſecond Summons for a Treaty, which they alſo refus'd. Upon this, he made a Breach with two hundred ſhot, and then the Governour thought fit to beat a Parley, which was granted; and Colonel *Hammond* and Major *Harriſon* for *Cromwell*, agreed upon Articles for delivering up the Caſtle into the Hands of the Parliament. Here an Inſtance is given of *Cromwell*'s Faithfulneſs in his punctual Obſervance of Articles; for 'tis ſaid, that being inform'd, that ſome of his Men had been faulty in this Reſpect, he caus'd one of them to be hang'd to the Terror of others, and ſent the reſt to *Oxford*, that the Governour Sir *Thomas Glemham* might puniſh them as he thought fit; who is ſaid with generous acknowledgments to return them to *Cromwell* again.

His

Storms and takes *Basing*-House.

His next Attempt was upon *Basing*-House, a very strong Place. It was the Mansion of the Marquess of *Winchester*, standing on a rising Ground, and encompass'd with a Brick-Rampart lined with Earth, having a deep dry Ditch surrounding it. Here the Marquess stood upon his Guard, assisted at first only with his own Family and a hundred Musqueteers from *Oxford*; but recruited afterwards by the King from time to time, as there was Occasion. This Garrison had been often assaulted, but in vain; first by Colonel *Norton* and Colonel *Harvey*; next, by Sir *William Waller* with seven thousand Horse and Foot; who, tho' many then call'd him *William the Conqueror*, did little more than increase the Courage of the Besieged, who made many furious Sallies upon him. Thus the Place stood for some Years out-braving all Attempts, till the valiant *Cromwell* endeavour'd the reducing of it, which he very soon effected; for having seen Sir *William Ogle* the late Governour of *Winchester*, march out according to Articles, and settled the Affairs of that Garison for the Parliament, he the next Day march'd for *Basing*; where being arriv'd, after planting the Batteries, and settling the several Posts for a Storm, his Men fell on with great Resolution. Colonel *Pickering* storm'd the new House, and passing through, got the Gate of the old House; whereupon they beat a Parley, which the Parliament Soldiers would not regard. In the mean Time, Colonel *Montague*'s and Sir *Hardress Waller*'s Regiments recover'd the strongest Work, and beat the Enemy from a whole Culverin. Then they drew their Ladders after them, and got over another Work, and the House-Wall, before they

they could enter. Thus was the place reduc'd with very little Loſs on the Parliament's Side. Seventy four of the Royaliſts were ſlain, among whom were ſome Officers of Quality. Two hundred were taken Priſoners, among whom was the Marqueſs himſelf, Sir *Robert Peak*, and ſeveral other Officers, whom *Cromwell* ſent up to the Parliament. They took about ten Pieces of Ordnance, with a good Quantity of Ammunition and Proviſions, and there was rich Pillage for the Soldiers, of Money, Jewels, Houſhold-ſtuff, *&c.* For theſe important Services, the Houſe order'd a Letter of Thanks to be drawn up to the Lieutenant-General.

Gains *Langford*-Houſe.

The next Place *Cromwell* viſited, was *Langford*-Houſe near *Salisbury*; but they within having had Information of what he had done at *Baſing*, and expecting no better Succeſs, ſubmitted at the firſt Summons.

Marches towards *Exeter*.

From hence he march'd towards the main Body of the Army, which was then moving towards *Exeter*, with a Deſign to lay Siege to it: Where being arriv'd, he advanc'd further weſtward towards the Enemy, and at *Bovey-Tracy* fought the Brigade commanded by the Lord *Wentworth*, taking four hundred Horſe, and about a hundred Foot, Priſoners, with ſix Standards, one of which was the King's.

Dartmouth taken by Storm; and the Lord *Hopton* deſeated.

The Deſign upon *Exeter* being for the preſent laid aſide, the Army under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* appear'd before *Dartmouth*, and took it by Storm; which being done, they encounter'd the Lord *Hopton* at *Torrington*, and gave him an abſolute Defeat; and then purſu'd the only remains of a royal Army into *Cornwal*, where Prince *Charles* had his own Regiment, and other *Corniſh* Troops, which compos'd

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a Body of about five thouſand Horſe and one thouſand Foot: But not able to reſiſt the Multitudes that the Parliamentarians were pouring upon him, he imbark'd with ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen, and found Refuge in the Iſle of *Scilly*. His Troops were left under the Command of the Lord *Hopton*, who was ſo preſs'd upon by the Parliament's Forces, that he was oblig'd to disband on the 14th of *March*; ſoon after which, *Exeter* was ſurrender'd to the Parliament.

Fairfax and *Cromwell* having thus ſcower'd the Weſt, and only *Newark* remaining in the North, the King's Affairs were now in a very low and deſperate Condition. The Royaliſts in *Oxford* had indeed ſtill ſome little Hopes from a Party commanded by the Lord *Aſtley*, which were the only Forces in the Field for the King; but theſe Hopes ſoon vaniſh'd; for being encounter'd by Colonel *Morgan* near *Stow* on the *Would*, he was entirely defeated, himſelf and almoſt all his Men being taken Priſoners. *Aſtley* was ſo ſenſible of the Conſequence of this Defeat, that when he was taken, he ſaid to one of the Parliament-Officers, *You have now done your Work and may go to play, unleſs you will fall out among your ſelves.*

Lord *Aſtley* routed and taken Priſoner.

1646. The Parliament Army, fluſh'd with irreſiſtible Succeſs, was now marching to beſiege *Oxford*, the King's Head-Quarters and Place of his Reſidence; who in this Extremity reſolv'd to throw himſelf into the Hands of the *Scotch* Army, then lying before *Newark*. He was adviſ'd to do this by Monſieur *Montrevil*, the *French* Ambaſſador, who was then in the *Scotch* Quarters; and the rather encourag'd to it, becauſe the Animoſities between the *Engliſh* Parliament

ment and the *Scots*, were now grown very high, the latter complaining againſt the former, for their Delays in ſettling the Presbyterian Government of the Church according to the *Covenant*; and for with-holding their Pay. In Purſuance of this Reſolution, before the Siege of *Oxford* could be form'd, the King eſcap'd from thence on the 27th of *April*. He went away in Diſguiſe, accompany'd only by Dr. *Hudſon* and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, and riding as a Servant to the latter, with a Cloak-Bag behind him. They went to *Henly*, *Brentford* and *Harrow*-on-the-Hill; thence towards *St. Albans*, making their Way to *Harborough*, where they expected Monſieur *Montrevil*; who not being there as he had appointed, the King went to *Stamford*, thence to *Downham*, and ſo to *Southam*; where finding the *French* Agent, he ſent to General *Leven*, and was conducted by a Troop of Horſe to Lieutenant-General *Leſly*'s Quarters. *Oxford* being cloſe block'd up, ſurrender'd on the 22d of *June*, and the few remaining Gariſons ſoon after, *viz*, *Worceſter*, *Wallingford*, *Pendennis*-Caſtle, and *Ragland*-Caſtle. The Parliament being inform'd of the King's Eſcape from *Oxford*, and Arrival in the *Scotch* Army, were very much ſtartled at it, and ſent an Order to their Commiſſioners to demand him of them; requiring alſo their Army to advance, in order to hinder a Conjunction of the King's Party with the *Scots*, being very jealous of his making Terms with them: But upon their ſurrendering *Newark* to the *Engliſh*, which the King had order'd to be deliver'd up to them, and General *Leven*'s forbidding his Forces to have any Communication with the King's Party, they began to be pretty well ſatisfy'd for the preſent; and ſo the *Scots*, having

King eſcapes from *Oxford* to the *Scotch* Army.

Oxford and all other Places ſubmit to the Parliament.

having got the King in their Poſſeſſion, march'd with him to *Newcaſtle*, where he receiv'd the Parliament's Propoſitions for Peace; which he not agreeing to, they conſult how to take him out of the Hands of the *Scots*, to ſend them out of *England*, and to bring him up into ſafer Cuſtody. In order to this, they thought it neceſſary to reckon with the *Scots*, who offer'd to accept of a Sum in groſs, for a full Diſcharge of their Arrears, to be agreed on by Commiſſioners. Theſe concluded on four hundred thouſand Pounds, one Moiety of which to be paid before their going home, and the other within ſtated Terms. The delivering up of the King was a tacit Condition of this Agreement; and accordingly, the *Scots* having receiv'd two hundred thouſand Pounds, which was ſent down to them, deliver'd the King, after he had been with them about nine Months, into the Hands of the Parliament's Commiſſioners, who conducted him to *Holmby*-Houſe in *Northamptonſhire*. Upon this Mr. *Coke* has theſe Reflexions: 'Thus this Prince, who before had ſhifted the worthy Members of Parliament from one Priſon to another, that they might have no Benefit of their *Habeas-Corpus*, is himſelf ſhifted a Priſoner from one Place to another, without any hope of an *Habeas-Corpus*: He that before, by his abſolute Will and Pleaſure, would without any Law ſeize his Subjects Goods, and commit them to Priſon, cannot now enjoy his own Eſtate in his own Houſe: He that before arbitrarily rais'd Ship-Mony, has not now one Ship to command.'

King deliver'd up to the *Engliſh* and brought to *Holmby*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

From the Concluſion of the Firſt and long Civil War, to the King's Seizure at Holmby *by the Army.*

THE King's Party being ſubdu'd by the Parliament, who had alſo got him into their Hands, and the *Scots* having quietly left the Kingdom, and ſo the long Civil War between the King and the Parliament, which had been maintain'd at the expence of ſo much Blood and Treaſure, being entirely ended, the Victors began now to quarrel amongſt themſelves; and the Differences and Diſſenſions in the Parliament and Army, and chiefly between thoſe two Bodies, the Civil and Military Powers, occaſion'd a great deal of Uneaſineſs and Trouble to the Nation. The Foundation of all this were the high Conteſts between the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Parties, the one not enduring any Superior, nor the other any Equal. The *Preſbyterians* graſp'd at the whole Power, proceeding with equal bitterneſs againſt all other Sects, as againſt the Epiſcopal Party; and finding themſelves ſuperior in both Houſes, little doubted of being able to reform the Army, and new model it again; which, without doubt, they would have attempted, had not the Death of the Earl of *Eſſex*, who deceas'd about this Time, prevented them. This Party prevail'd very much in the City, ſo that an Addreſs was preſented to the Parliament from the Mayor and Common-Council, wherein after acknowledging

Differences ariſe between the Parliament and Army.

1647. ledging the Care of the two Houſes in the Reformation of the Church, *&c.* they deſir'd, that ſuch Aſſemblies as were privately held to introduce new Sects, might be ſuppreſs'd, and that thoſe who were diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Independents*, might be remov'd from all Employments Civil and Military. And as *Cromwell* eſpous'd the *Independent* Party, the Parliament was particularly jealous of him, and was for taking meaſures to diſmiſs him, and his chief Partizans, from their Military Poſts. *Cromwell* was no leſs jealous of them, and being aware of what they deſign'd, reſolv'd to be even with them. *Ludlow* tells us, that as he was walking with him one Morning in Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Garden, he inveigh'd bitterly againſt the Parliament, and ſaid familiarly to him, *If thy Father were alive, he would let ſome of them hear what they deſerve*; adding farther, *That it was a miſerable thing to ſerve a Parliament, to whom let a Man be never ſo faithful, if one pragmatical Fellow amongſt them riſe up and aſperſe him, he ſhall never wipe it off; whereas, when one ſerves under a General, he may do as much Service, and yet be free from all Blame and Envy*,

The Parliament jealous of *Cromwell*, and he of them.

His Diſcourſe with *Ludlow* thereupon.

Accordingly from this time *Cromwell*, to ſecure himſelf, and prevent the Deſigns of the *Presbyterians*, made a ſtrong Party for Military Power, for which he had now a fair Opportunity offer'd him: For the *Presbyterian* Party in Parliament, knowing that the Army was moſtly inclin'd to the *Independents*, were earneſtly deſirous to break it; and the better to facilitate this deſign, under the Pretence of leſſening their great Charge, they reſolv'd on the disbanding of ſome Troops, and tranſporting others for the ſervice of *Ireland*. *Cromwell* having

1647.

ving timely notice of this Reſolution, he together with *Ireton* inſinuated to the Soldiers, that the Parliament intended to disband them without paying them their Arrears, or elſe to ſend them into *Ireland* to die of Sickneſs and Famine. Upon this, the Soldiers broke out into reviling Language againſt the Parliament, and when the orders for disbanding ſome, and tranſporting others, as before mention'd, were ſent down to them, they refus'd to comply with them. The Parliament being inform'd of it, were very much offended at this Behaviour of the Army; but the Prudence and Moderation of Major-General *Skippon*, in reporting the Matter to the Houſe, much abated the Heat of their Reſentment; tho' ſeveral threatning Expreſſions came from ſome of them; which occaſion'd *Cromwell*, then in the Houſe, to whiſper *Ludlow* in the Ear, ſaying, *Theſe Men will never leave, till the Army pull them out by the Ears.* 1647. He promotes the Army's jealouſy of the Parliament.

This Spirit of Oppoſition being rais'd in the Army, they began now more profeſſedly to enter into Competition with the Parliament, and to claim a ſhare with them in ſettling the Kingdom; and that they might be upon a nearer level with them, they made choice of a number of ſuch Officers as they approv'd, which was called the General's Council of Officers, and was to reſemble the Houſe of Peers; and three or four out of each Regiment, moſt Corporals or Serjeants, were choſen by the common Soldiers, and call'd Agitators, who were to anſwer to the Houſe of Commons. Theſe two Bodies met ſeverally, and examin'd all the Acts and Orders of the Parliament towards ſettling the Kingdom, and reforming, dividing or disbanding the Army; and after ſome Conſultations, they unanimouſly reſolv'd and declar'd, 'That they Agitators and Council of Officers ſet up by the Army. Their Reſolutions.

1647. 'would not be divided or disbanded, till their 'full Arrears were paid, and till full Proviſion 'was made for Liberty of Conſcience; which 'they ſaid was the Ground of the Quarrel, 'tho' hitherto there was ſo little Security pro-'vided in that Point, that there was now a 'greater Perſecution againſt religious and godly 'Men, than ever had been in the King's Go-'vernment when the Biſhops were their Judges.' They added, 'That they did not look upon 'themſelves as a Band of *Janizaries*, hired and 'entertain'd only to fight their Battles; but 'that they had voluntarily taken up Arms for 'the Liberty and Defence of the Nation, of 'which they were a Part; and before they laid 'down thoſe Arms, they would ſee all thoſe ends 'well provided for, that the People might not 'hereafter ſuffer thoſe Grievances, with which 'they had formerly been oppreſs'd.'

Three or four of their own Members being ſent to the Houſe of Commons with this Declaration, they with great Confidence deliver'd it at the Bar. And ſoon after, the Soldiers drew up a Vindication of their Proceedings, directing it to their General; wherein they complain'd of a Deſign to disband, and new-model the Army; 'Which, they ſaid, was a Plot 'contriv'd by ſome Men, who had lately taſted 'of Sovereignty, and being rais'd above the or-'dinary Sphere of Servants, would fain become 'Maſters, and were degenerated into Tyrants. For which Reaſon they declar'd, 'That they 'would neither be employ'd for the Service of '*Ireland*, nor ſuffer themſelves to be disbanded, 'till their Deſires were obtain'd, and the Sub-'jects Rights and Liberties ſhould be vindi-'cated and ſecur'd.' This Paper being ſign'd by many inferiour Officers, the Parliament de-

clar'd

clar'd them Enemies to the State, impriſoning ſome of them who talk'd loudeſt: Whereupon they drew up another Addreſs to their General, complaining, 'How diſdainfully they were us'd 'by the Parliament, for whom they had ven-'tur'd their Lives, and ſpilt their Blood; that 'the Privileges due to them as Soldiers, and 'as Subjects, were taken from them; and when 'they complain'd of the Injuries done to them, 'they were abus'd, beaten, and impriſon'd.' 1647.

Upon this *Fairfax* (who was indeed a *Presbyterian*, but was only General in Name, *Cromwell* having got the aſcendant over him, and having the ſole Influence upon the Army, which he manag'd as he pleas'd) was prevail'd with to write a Letter to a Member of Parliament, who read it to the Houſe, wherein he took notice of ſeveral Petitions, which were prepar'd in the City of *London*, and other Places, againſt the Army; adding, 'That it was look'd upon as 'ſtrange, that the Officers of the Army might 'not be permitted to Petition, when ſo many 'Petitions were receiv'd againſt them; and that 'he much doubted, that the Army might draw 'to a Rendezvous, and think of taking ſome 'other Courſe for their own Vindication.' *Cromwell* General in fact, *Fairfax* only in Name.

The Parliament was exceedingly troubled at theſe Proceedings of the Army. However, they reſolv'd not to ſubmit to, or be govern'd by thoſe who were their Servants, and liv'd upon their Pay: And therefore, after many ſevere Expreſſions againſt the Preſumptions of ſeveral Officers and Soldiers, they declar'd, 'That 'whoſoever ſhould refuſe, being commanded, 'to engage in the Service of *Ireland*, ſhould be 'disbanded.' But the Army would by no means recede from the Reſolutions they had taken, and falling into a direct and high Mutiny, call'd for Declaration of the Parliament againſt the Army, afterwards ras'd out of their Journal-book.

1647. for the Arrears due to them, *which they knew where, and how to levy for themſelves*; nor would they be at all pacify'd, till the Declaration of the Parliament againſt them was raſed out of their Journal Book, and a Month's pay ſent to them: Nor did this ſatisfy them, but they ſtill gave out, 'That they knew how to make themſelves as conſiderable as the Parliament, and where to have their Service better eſteem'd and requited.' This ſo ſtartled the Parliament, that they ſent a Committee of Lords and Commons, ſome whereof were not at all ungrateful to the Army, to treat with a Committee of Officers, upon the beſt Means to be uſed, for compoſing theſe Differences. By which Method of Proceeding, the Army ſeem'd to be put upon a level with the Parliament; and this alſo diſpos'd General *Fairfax* to a greater Concurrence with the Humour of the Army, when he ſaw it was ſo much comply'd with, and ſubmitted to by all Men.

A Committee of the Parliament ſent to treat with a Committee of the Army.

Cromwell hitherto thought it neceſſary to keep himſelf as fair with the Parliament as poſſible; for which purpoſe, having a rare knack at Diſſimulation, he would ſeem highly diſpleas'd with the Inſolence of the Soldiers, and being ſtill in the Houſe of Commons, when any of their Addreſſes were preſented, inveigh'd bitterly againſt their Preſumption. He alſo propos'd, That the General might be ſent down to the Army; who, he ſaid, would ſoon conjure down this mutinous Spirit: And he was ſo eaſily believ'd, that he himſelf was once or twice ſent to reduce them to Order; and having ſtaid two or three Days with them, he would again return to the Parliament, and make heavy complaints 'of the great Licenſe that was got into the Army; 'that, for his own part, by the Artifice of his 'Ene-

Cromwell's management with the Parliament.

'Enemies, and of thoſe who deſir'd that the 1647.
'Nation ſhould be again imbru'd in Blood, he
'was render'd ſo odious to them, that they had
'deſign'd to kill him, if he had not timely e-
'ſcap'd out of their Hands.' But notwithſtanding this, he was greatly ſuſpected by many, of having under-hand encourag'd the Army's Proceedings; and the moſt active Officers and Agitators were believ'd to be his own Creatures, who would do nothing without his Direction: So that it was privately reſolv'd by the chief Members of the Houſe of Commons, that when he came the next Day into the Houſe, which he ſeldom fail'd to do, they would ſend him to the *Tower*.

Their Deſign of ſeizing him.

This Deſign could not be manag'd ſo ſecretly, but *Cromwell* got Intelligence of it; and ſo when the Houſe the next Day expected every Minute to ſee him come in, they had Notice given them, that he was met out of the Town by break of Day, with only one Servant, making what haſte he could towards the Army; where he had order'd a Rendezvous of ſome Regiments of the Horſe, and from whence he ſent a Letter to the Houſe of Commons, to acquaint them,

Which he eſcapes.

'That having the Night before receiv'd a Let-
'ter from ſome Officers of his own Regiment,
'That the Jealouſy the Troops had conceiv'd
'of him, and of his want of Kindneſs
'towards them, was much abated, ſo that they
'believ'd, if he would forthwith come down to
'them, they would all by his Advice be ſoon
'reclaim'd; upon this he had made all the
'haſte he could, and did find, that the Soldi-
'ers had been abus'd by Miſinformation; and
'that he hop'd to diſcover the Fountain from
'whence it ſprung; and in the mean time de-
'ſir'd, that the General, and the other Officers

His Letter to the Parliament.

1647. 'in the Houſe, or ſuch as remain'd about 'the Town, might be immediately ſent to 'their Quarters; and he believ'd it would be 'very requiſite, in order to the Suppreſſion 'of the late Diſtempers, and for the Preven-'tion of the like for the future, to have a 'general Rendezvous of the Army, of which the 'General would beſt conſider, when he came 'down; which he wiſh'd might be haſten'd.'

Sir *Harbotle Grimſton's* Story concerning him.

This Account of *Cromwell*'s Management with the Parliament, leads me to inſert here what Sir *Harbotle Grimſton* related to Biſhop *Burnet*, concerning him, as we have it in the firſt Volume of the Biſhop's Hiſtory, *p.* 45. During the Conteſts between the Army and the Parliament, (for we cannot exactly aſſign the Time when this happen'd) two Officers brought an Account to *Grimſton*, that at a Meeting of the Officers, it being propos'd to purge the Army better, that they might know whom to confide in; *Cromwell* thereupon ſaid, he was ſure of the Army; but there was another Body that wanted more to be purg'd, namely, the Houſe of Commons, and he believ'd the Army only could do that. *Grimſton* brought the Officers to the Lobby of the Houſe, where they were reſolv'd to juſtify what they had ſaid; and the Commons having then ſomething in debate, he diverted it, ſaying, he had a Matter of Privilege of the higheſt nature to lay before them, which concern'd the Being and Freedom of the Houſe; and then he accuſed *Cromwell* of a Deſign to put a Force upon them, and having his Witneſſes at the Door, requeſted they might be examin'd. Accordingly they were brought to the Bar, and juſtify'd all they had related to him, and gave a full Account of whatever had paſs'd at the Meetings

tings of the Officers; which done, they with- 1647.
drew; when *Cromwell* falling down on his Knees, made a ſolemn Prayer to God, atteſting his Innocence, and his Zeal for the Intereſt of the Houſe. This he did with great Vehemence and many Tears, and then made ſo long a Speech in his own Vindication, that he tired the Houſe and wrought ſo much on his Party, that what the Officers ſaid was ſo little credited, that if it had been mov'd, Sir *Harbotle* believ'd, that both he and they had been ſent to the Tower. *Cromwell* however, no ſooner got out of the Houſe, but reſolving to truſt himſelf no more with them, he haſten'd to the Army; and a few Days after he brought them up, and forc'd a great many from the Houſe. 'Twas his Opinion, it ſeems, with many in thoſe Times, that in great Occaſions, when ſome were call'd to extraordinary Services, they were excus'd from the common Rules of Morality; which they thought was the Caſe of the Judges among the *Iſraelites*. But to proceed:

The King was all this while at *Holmby*: But the Animoſities between the Parliament and Army ſtill continuing and increaſing, the Agitators fear'd the Parliament would now for their own Security receive him upon any Terms, or rather put themſelves under his Protection, that they might the better ſubdue the Army and reduce them to Obedience. Wherefore, being inſtigated thereto by *Cromwell*, they on the 4th of *June*, ſent Cornet *Joyce* one of their Body, with a Party of Horſe, to take the King out of the Hands of the Parliament-Commiſſioners, and bring him away to the Army. Accordingly, *Joyce* about Midnight drew up his Horſe in Order before

The King taken from *Holmby*, and brought to the Army.

1647. before *Holmby-Houſe*, demanding Entrance. Colonel *Graves* and Major-General *Brown*, who being alarm'd, had doubled the Guards, enquiring his Name and Buſineſs, he ſaid his Name was *Joyce*, a Cornet in Colonel *Whalley*'s Regiment, and his Buſineſs was to ſpeak with the King. Being ask'd from whom, he ſaid, *From my ſelf, my Errand is to the King, I muſt and I will ſpeak with him.* *Graves* and *Brown* commanded their Men within to ſtand to their Arms; but they ſeeing them to be their Fellow-Soldiers of the ſame Army, open'd the Gates, and ſhook Hands with them as old Friends. The Cornet plac'd his Centinels at the Commiſſioners Chamber-Doors, and went himſelf, by the Back-Stairs, directly to the King's Bed-Chamber. The Grooms being much ſurpriz'd, deſir'd him to lay aſide his Arms, and aſſur'd him, that in the Morning he ſhould ſpeak with the King: But he with Sword and Piſtol inſiſted to have the Door open'd, and made ſo much Noiſe that it waked his Majeſty, who ſent him out word, *That he would not riſe nor ſpeak with him till the Morning*; upon which the Cornet retir'd in a Huff. The King getting up early in the Morning, ſent for him, who with great Boldneſs told his Majeſty, he was commanded to remove him. Whereupon the King deſir'd the Commiſſioners might be call'd; but *Joyce* ſaid, *they had nothing to do, but to return back to the Parliament.* Being ask'd for a Sight of his Inſtructions, he told his Majeſty *he ſhould ſee them preſently*; ſo drawing up his Troop in the inner Court, *Theſe, Sir,* ſaid he, *are my Inſtructions.* The King having taken a good View of them, and finding them

them to be proper Men, well mounted and arm'd, told the Cornet with a Smile, *His Inſtructions were in fair Characters, legible without ſpelling.* *Joyce* then preſſing the King to go along with him, his Majeſty refus'd, unleſs the Commiſſioners might attend him; to which the Cornet reply'd, *he was very indifferent, they might go if they would*: So the King, being attended by the Commiſſioners of the Parliament, went along with *Joyce*, and was that Night conducted by him to Colonel *Montague*'s Houſe at *Hinchingbrook*, and the next Night to Sir *John Cutts*'s at *Childerſley* near *Cambridge*. Here *Fairfax*, *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, *Skippon*, and many other Officers came to wait upon the King, and ſome of them kiſſed his Hand. 'Tis ſaid, That *Joyce* being told, that the General was displeas'd with him, for taking the King from *Holmby*, he anſwer'd, *That Lieutenant-General* Cromwell *had given him Orders at* London *to do all that he had done*; and indeed *Fairfax* now reſign'd himſelf entirely to *Cromwell*'s Judgment, who led and govern'd him as he pleas'd. 1647.

Chap. VI.

From the King's Seizure at Holmby, *to his Departure to the Iſle of* Wight.

THE Parliament receiv'd the News of the King's Seizure by the Army with the utmoſt Amazement and Conſternation: But this was not all; for about this Time, the Army drew up a Charge of High-Treaſon againſt eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons, Eleven Members impeach'd by them.

1647. mons, *viz.* Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Serjeant *Glyn*, Mr. *Anthony Nichols*, Mr. *Walter Long*, Sir *William Lewis*, Colonel *Edward Harley*, Sir *William Waller*, Colonel *Maſſey*, and Sir *John Maynard*; for betraying the Cauſe of the Parliament, endeavouring to break and deſtroy the Army, *&c.* This Charge was accompanied with a Declaration, ſhewing the Reaſon of what they had done, affirming, that they were oblig'd by their Duty ſo to do, as they tender'd the Preſervation of the publick Cauſe, and ſecuring the good People of *England* from being a Prey to their Enemies. The great End of this Charge of Treaſon, being rather to hinder theſe Members, who were the chief of the Presbyterian Party, from uſing their Influence in the Houſe (which was very great) in Oppoſition to the Proceedings of the Army, than the proceeding capitally againſt them, they determin'd rather voluntarly to withdraw themſelves, than to put the Parliament or Army to any further Trouble, or themſelves to any more Hazard.

Cromwel's Deſign of reſtoring the King by Means of the Independents.

Cromwell's great Deſign, was to hinder any Conjunction between the King and the Presbyterians; and having now gotten him into his own Hands, he was for endeavouring his Reſtoration by means of the Independents, thinking that thereby Liberty of Conſcience would be the better ſecur'd, which the Presbyterian Hierarchy would not ſo well admit of. And indeed the King himſelf began to think that his Condition was alter'd for the better, and to look upon the Independent Intereſt as more conſiſting with Epiſcopacy than the Presbyterian, for that it might ſubſiſt under any Form, which the other could not do. What encou-

rag'd

rag'd the King the more was, that he was much more civilly treated ſince his being in the Army, than he was before, whilſt he was the Parliament's Priſoner at *Holmby*. He was now indeed to make his involuntary Progreſs according to the Motion of the Army, and ſo at length was brought to *Hampton-Court*; but he was every where allow'd to appear in State and Luſtre, his Nobility about him, his Chaplains in waiting, and all Servants permitted to attend in their proper Places. The Army had alſo ſent an Addreſs to him full of Proteſtation of Duty, beſeeching him, 'That he would be 'content, for ſome Time, to reſide among them, 'until the Affairs of the Kingdom were put 'into ſuch a Poſture, as he might find all 'Things to his own Content, and Security; 'which they infinitely deſir'd to ſee as ſoon 'as might be, and to that Purpoſe made dai-'ly Inſtances to the Parliament'. *Cromwell* indeed thought fit at firſt, to be ſomewhat upon the Reſerve in this matter, for fear of increaſing the Parliament's Jealouſy of him. The Lord *Clarendon* tells us, That he and *Ireton* had been with his Majeſty, without either of them offering to kiſs his Hand; that the King us'd all the Addreſs he could towards them, to get ſome Promiſe from them, as knowing them to have the greateſt Influence upon the Army; but they were ſo reſerv'd, and ſtood ſo much upon their Guard, and ſpoke ſo few Words, that nothing could be gather'd from what they ſaid; and they deſir'd to be excus'd for not ſeeing his Majeſty often, upon the great Jealouſies the Parliament had of them, towards whom they profeſs'd all Fidelity. But after ſome Time, their Behaviour towards his Majeſty was more free and open,

1647.

His Behaviour towards the King.

1647. open, they viſited him more frequently and had longer Conferences with him.

The News of the King's being in the Army, and the civil Treatment he met with from them, occaſion'd the Queen and Prince of *Wales*, then in *France*, to diſpatch Sir *Edward Ford*, who had married *Ireton*'s Siſter, but had been an Officer in the King's Army from the Beginning of the War, to ſound the Deſign of the Army, and to promote an Agreement between the King and them. Sir *John Berkley* was likewiſe ſent over upon the like Errand; and 'twas in his Inſtructions to procure a Paſs for Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, to come and aſſiſt him in his Negotiation. Being on his Way towards *London*, he was met by Sir *Allen Appeſley*, who had been Lieutenant-Governour under him at *Exeter*; by whom he was acquainted, that he was ſent to him from Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, and ſome other Officers of the Army, with Letters and a Cypher, as alſo particular Inſtructions to deſire him to call to mind his own Diſcourſe at a Conference with Colonel *Lambert* and other Officers upon the Surrender of *Exeter*; when having taken notice of the bitter Reproaches caſt on the King by thoſe of the Army, and ſuppoſing that ſuch Diſcourſes were encourag'd in order to diſpoſe Mens Minds for an Alteration of the Government; he ſaid,

His Meſſage to Sir *John Berkley*.

'That it was not only a moſt wicked, but 'difficult Undertaking, if not impoſſible, for 'a few Men not of the greateſt Quality, to 'introduce a popular Government againſt the 'King, the Nobility and Gentry, the Pres'byterians, and the Genius of the Nation, for 'ſo many Ages accuſtom'd to Monarchy; 'and adviſ'd, That ſince the Presbyterians, 'who had begun the War upon many ſpeci-

'ous

'ous Pretences, were found to have ſought 1647.
'only their own Advancements, by which
'means they had loſt almoſt all their Power and
'Credit; the Independent Party, who had no
'particular Obligation to the Crown, as many
'of the Presbyterians had, would make good
'what the Presbyterians had only pretended
'to, and reſtore the King and People to their
'juſt and antient Rights; which they were con-
'cern'd to do in Point of Prudence and Inte-
'reſt, there being no Means under Heaven
'more likely to ſecure themſelves, and obtain
'as much Truſt and Power as Subjects are
'capable of; whereas, if they aim'd at more,
'it would be attended with a general Ha-
'tred, and their own Deſtruction.' He was likewiſe order'd by *Cromwell*, to let Sir *John* know, 'That tho' to this Diſcourſe of his
'they then gave only the Hearing, yet they
'had ſince found by Experience, that all or
'the greateſt Part of it was reaſonable, and
'they were reſolv'd to act accordingly,
'as might be perceiv'd by what had already
'paſs'd; and deſir'd that he would preſent
'them humbly to the Queen and Prince, and
'be a Suitor to them in their Names, not
'to condemn them abſolutely, but to ſuſpend
'their Opinion of them, and of their Intenti-
'ons, till their future Carriage ſhould make full
'Proof of their Integrity, of which they had
'already given ſome Teſtimonies to the
'World; and that when he had perform'd this
'Office, he would come back to *England*,
'and be an Eye-Witneſs of their Proceedings.'

The Parliament at this Time fear'd nothing ſo much, as that the Army would make a firm Conjunction with the King, and unite with his Party, of which there was ſo much ſhew;

and

1647. and many imprudent Perſons, who very much deſir'd it, bragg'd too much of it; whereupon the two Houſes ſent a Committee to his Majeſty, with an Addreſs of another Strain than they had lately us'd, making many Proteſtations of Duty, and declaring, 'That if he was 'not in all reſpects treated as he ought to 'be, and as he deſir'd, it was not their Fault 'who were deſirous he might be at full Li-'berty, and do what he would'. The Army at the ſame Time was not without Jealouſy, that the King hearken'd to ſome ſecret Propoſitions from the Presbyterian Party, and deſign'd to make an abſolute Breach between the Parliament and the Army; which occaſion'd *Ireton* to ſay to him, *Sir, you have an Intention to be Arbitrator between the Parliament and us, and we mean to be ſo between you and the Parliament.* The King in the mean time finding himſelf courted on all Hands, was ſo confident of his own Importance, as to imagin himſelf able to turn the Scale to what Side ſoever he pleas'd. In this Temper he was when Sir *John Berkley* came to him; which he did, after leave obtain'd from *Cromwell*, who alſo confirm'd with his own Mouth what Sir *Allen Appeſley* had before communicated to Sir *John*, with this Addition, 'That he thought 'no Man could enjoy his Life and Eſtate quietly, unleſs the King had his Right; which 'he *ſaid*, they had already declar'd to the 'World in general Terms, and would more 'particularly very ſoon, wherein they would 'comprize the ſeveral Intereſts of the *Royaliſts*, *Presbyterians*, and *Independents*, as far 'as they were conſiſtent with one another.' Some time after, 'tis ſaid, Sir *John* meeting him at *Reading*, as he was coming from the King

His Diſcourſe with him.

King at *Caverſham*, *Cromwell* told him, 'That 1647.
'he had lately ſeen the tendereſt ſight that ever
'his Eyes beheld, which was the Interview be-
'tween the King and his Children;' and wept plentifully at the Remembrance of it, ſaying, 'That never Man was ſo abus'd in his ſiniſter 'Opinion of the King, who he thought was 'the moſt Upright and Conſcientious Man in 'his three Kingdoms; that the *Independent* 'Party were infinitely oblig'd to him, for not 'conſenting to the Propoſitions ſent to him at '*Newcaſtle*, which would have totally ruin'd 'them, and which his Majeſty's Intereſt ſeem'd 'to invite him to:' Concluding with this Wiſh, 'That God would be pleas'd to look upon him, 'according to the Sincerity of his Heart to-'wards the King.'

Agitators and *Cromwell* doubtful of one anothers Sincerity towards the King.

The Army in general, as well as *Cromwell*, appear'd at this Time to be very zealous for the King's Intereſt, and yet they ſeem'd ſomewhat to ſuſpect the reality of one anothers Intentions. Some of the principal Agitators, with whom Sir *John Berkley* convers'd at *Reading*, declar'd to him their Jealouſy, that *Cromwell* was not ſincere for the King, and deſir'd him, if he found him falſe, to inform them of it, promiſing, that they would endeavour to ſet him right, either with or againſt his Will. Major *Huntington*, an Officer in *Cromwell*'s Regiment, who was entruſted by him to command the Guard about his Majeſty, became wholly devoted to the royal Intereſt, and by the King's Order, brought two general Officers to *Berkley*, as Perſons in whom he might confide. Theſe two diſcours'd frequently with him, and aſſur'd him, 'That a Conjunction with the King 'was univerſally deſir'd by the Officers and A-'gitators, and that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were

1647. 'great Diſſemblers, if they were not real in it; 'but that the Army was ſo bent upon it at pre- 'ſent, that they durſt not ſhew themſelves o- 'therwiſe.' They likewiſe inform'd him, 'That Propoſals were drawn up by *Ireton*, 'wherein Epiſcopacy was not requir'd to be a- 'boliſh'd, nor any of the King's Party wholly 'ruin'd, nor the *Militia* to be taken away 'from the Crown;' and advis'd, 'That his 'Majeſty would without Delay conſent to 'them, there being no Aſſurance of the Army, 'which they had obſerv'd already to have 'chang'd more than once.' *Cromwell* himſelf was alſo doubtful of the Army. In all his Conferences with *Berkley*, he appear'd exceeding deſirous of a ſpeedy Agreement with the King, inſomuch that he ſometimes blam'd *Ireton*'s ſlowneſs in perfecting the Propoſals, and his backwardneſs in coming up to his Majeſty's Senſe; and on the other hand would wiſh, that Sir *John Berkley* would act more frankly, and not tie himſelf up by narrow Principles; always declaring, *That he doubted the Army would not perſiſt in their good Intentions towards the King.*

Mr. *Aſhburnham* arrives.

By this time Mr. *Aſhburnham* was arriv'd to the King's great Satisfaction. Sir *John Berkley* convers'd chiefly with the Agitators; but *Aſhburnham* was ſoon of another mind, and openly declar'd, That having always us'd the beſt Company, he would not converſe with ſuch ſenſleſs Fellows as the Agitators; that if the Officers could be gain'd, they would, without doubt, be able to command their own Army; and that he was determined to apply himſelf wholly to them.

And correſponds with *Cromwell*.

Hereupon there was ſoon obſerv'd a great Familiarity between him and *Whalley*, who commanded the Guard that attended the King, as alſo a cloſe

close Correspondence with *Cromwell* and his Son-in-law *Ireton*, Messages daily passing from the King to the Head-Quarters: Which soon gave the rest of the Army a Suspicion of some private Treaty being carried on with the King; who being likewise encouraged by the *Presbyterian* Party, (the Lord *Lauderdale*, and divers of the City of *London* assuring him, that they would oppose the Army to the Death) when the Proposals were brought to him, and his Concurrence humbly desir'd by the Army, he entertain'd their Commissioners with very disobliging Language, saying, That no Man should suffer for his Sake, and that he repented of nothing so much, as that he pass'd the Bill against the Earl of *Strafford*; and that he would have the Church establish'd according to Law by the Proposals; for there was nothing mention'd in them concerning Church Government. The Proposals were indeed much more moderate, than those sent to him from the Parliament; but he unhappily thought, they proceeded only from the Necessity they had of him, and in discoursing with them, would frequently use these or the like Expressions, *You cannot do without me; you will fall to Ruin, if I do not sustain you.* Not only the Officers of the Army who were present; but the King's own Party, appear'd exceedingly astonish'd at this kind of Proceeding; whereupon he began to soften his former Discourse, but it was too late; for Colonel *Rainsborough*, who seem'd least of all to desire an Agreement with him, immediately going out from the Conference went directly to the Army, and gave them to understand what Treatment their Commissioners and Proposals had met with from the King.

1647.

King dislikes the Army's Proposals.

At which it is disgusted.

1647. Let us now ſee how Matters ſtood between the Parliament, Army and City at this time. The City, who hated the Army, had their *Militia* ſettled on the 4th of *May*, in the Management of the *Presbyterians*, who were very diligent in compleating their Companies: But this was contrary to the Deſign of the Army, and judg'd to be a Conſpiracy againſt it; whereupon *Fairfax*, who in every thing was influenc'd by *Cromwell*, upon the 10th of *June* wrote a Letter to the Parliament, *That the* Militia *of the City of* London, *might be put into the Hands of ſuch as were better affected to the Army.* This the Parliament quietly ſubmitted to, and *July* 23d, repeal'd the Ordinance of the 4th of *May*. The Common-Council being hereupon aſſembled, reſolv'd to Petition the Parliament againſt it, which they accordingly did on the 26th; and preſently after, many thouſand Citizens, young Men and Apprentices went in a Body and deliver'd another Petition, ſetting forth, 'That to order the 'City's Militia was the City's Birth-right, be-'longing to them by Charters confirm'd in Par-'liament; for Defence whereof, they had ven-'tured their Lives as far as the Army; and 'therefore they deſir'd, that the Militia might 'be put again into the ſame Hands, in which 'it was put with the Parliament's and City's 'Conſent, by the Ordinance of the 4th of *May*.' Upon the reading of this Petition, the Houſe of Peers immediately revok'd the Ordinance of the 23d of *July*, and renew'd that of the 4th of *May*, and ſent it down to the Commons for their Conſent; which they durſt not refuſe, the Apprentices behaving themſelves ſo inſolently, that they would ſcarce let the Door of the Houſe be ſhut, and ſome of them got in amongſt them: And ſome time after, when the Houſe broke

The Parliament inſulted.

broke up, the Speaker was forc'd back into the Chair by the Violence of the Multitude, who detain'd him and the Members, till they obliged them to paſs a Vote, *That the King ſhould come forthwith to* London; and another, *That he ſhould be invited to come with Honour, Freedom and Safety.* And then both Houſes adjourn'd for four Days. 1647.

In this Interval, ſeveral Members, and the Speakers of both Houſes, being apprehenſive of Danger from ſuch Tumults, repair'd to the Army, complaining of the Violences upon the Parliament. The Army could not have deſir'd a greater Advantage than this gave them, who therefore receiv'd the two Speakers with the Members, as ſo many Angels ſent from Heaven for their good, ſhew'd them all imaginable Reſpect, profeſs'd all Submiſſion to them, as to the Parliament of *England*, and declar'd, *That they would re-eſtabliſh them in their full Power, or periſh in the Attempt.* After the four Days adjournment, the Remainder of the Parliament met; and both Houſes miſſing their Speakers, choſe them new ones, and paſs'd the following Votes, Firſt, *That the King ſhould come to* London. Secondly, *That the* Militia *of* London *ſhould be authoriz'd to raiſe Forces for the Defence of the City.* Thirdly, *That Power be given to the ſame* Militia *to chuſe a General.* Fourthly, *That the eleven Members impeach'd by the Army, ſhould reſume their Seats in Parliament.* Whereupon ſeveral Members fly to the Army for Protection.

The Citizens armed with theſe Powers, proceed to raiſe Forces under the Command of *Waller*, *Maſſey*, and *Pointz*; but they were very much diſcourag'd in their Proceedings by the News of the general Rendezvous of the Army upon *Hounſlow-Heath*, where the two

1647. Speakers appear'd with their Maces, and ſuch Members as accompany'd them. Beſides, the Borough of *Southwark* was generally for the Army, which was now marching towards *London*, to reſtore the Members who fled to them, to their Places and Authorities. Part of the Army ſeiz'd upon the Block-Houſe at *Graveſend*, and block'd up the City by Water towards the Eaſt, and the General with the reſt of the Army, towards the Weſt. Upon this, the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City deſerted their three Generals, and ſent to *Fairfax* for a Pacification; which he granted them upon theſe Conditions. Firſt, *That they ſhould deſert the Parliament then ſitting and the eleven Members.* Secondly, *That they ſhould recal their late Declaration.* Thirdly, *That they ſhould relinquiſh their preſent* Militia. Fourthly, *That they ſhould deliver up to the General all their Forts, and the Tower of* London. Fifthly, *That they ſhould disband all the Forces they had lately rais'd, and do all things elſe, which were neceſſary for the publick Tranquillity.*

Which marches to *London*

And reſtores them to their Seats.

The next Day, *Cromwell* marched to *Weſtminſter*, and plac'd the Guards in the Court, in the Hall, and even at the Doors of the two Houſes: And a little after, General *Fairfax* conducted the ſeveral Members who had fled to the Army, to their Seats in Parliament; where they annull'd all the Acts and Orders, which had paſs'd ſince the 26th of *July*. Two Days after, the Army march'd, as it were, in Triumph thro' the City, the General leading the Avant-Guard, Major-General *Skippon* the Main Body, and *Cromwell* the Rear-Guard; and all the Soldiers having Laurel-Branches in their Hats. After this pompous March, the Army was diſtri-

distributed into Quarters, in *Kent*, *Surry*, and *Essex*; and thus they surrounded the City. 1647.

The City being subdu'd, and the Parliament and Army seemingly reconcil'd, there now arose Differences in the Army it self. The Agitators no longer inclin'd to an Agreement with the King, were very much disturb'd at some of the great Officers, who were still for promoting such an Agreement: And many in the Army complain'd of the Intimacy of Sir *John Berkley* and Mr. *Ashburnham* with the chief Officers of the Army, declaring to the Council of Agitators, that the Doors of *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were open to them, when they were shut to those of the Army. *Cromwell* was very uneasy at these Discourses, and inform'd the King's Party of them, telling *Ashburnham* and *Berkley*, 'That if he were an honest Man, 'he had said enough of the Sincerity of his 'Intentions; and if he were not, nothing 'was enough; and therefore he conjur'd them, 'as they tender'd the King's Service, not to 'come so frequently to his Quarters, but to 'send privately to him; the Suspicion of him 'being grown so great, that he was afraid to 'lie in them himself.' Thus the Agitators, who were suppos'd to be first set up by *Cromwell* to oppose the Parliament's Design of disbanding, began to be very troublesome to him, and were at length so set against him, that he was forc'd for his own Safety to make his Peace with them, by abandoning the King's Interest: As we shall see hereafter.

Factions arise in the Army.

They are jealous of *Cromwell*'s treating with the King.

About three Weeks after the Army enter'd *London*, the Parliament thought fit to address themselves to the King, in the old Propositions of *Newcastle*, some Particulars con-

1647. cerning the *Scots* only excepted. His Majeſty adviſing with *Berkley* and *Aſhburnham*, and ſome others about him, upon this matter, 'twas concluded to be unſafe for him to treat with the Parliament, whilſt the Army were the Maſters: And ſome ſay, that Inſtructions were given by *Cromwell* and other Officers, *That if the King would aſſent to their Propoſals, lower than thoſe of the Parliament, the Army would ſettle him again in his Throne.* However it was, the King thought fit to wave the Parliament's Propoſitions, or any Treaty upon them, and deſir'd a perſonal Treaty upon the Propoſals of the Army. The Officers of the Army having ſeen his Anſwer before it was ſent, ſeem'd to be very well pleas'd with it, and promis'd to do all they could to procure a perſonal Treaty; and accordingly *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, and many of their Party in the Houſe, preſs'd his Majeſty's Deſires with great Earneſtneſs; but contrary to their Expectations, they met with a vigorous Oppoſition from ſuch as had already conceiv'd a Jealouſy of their private Agreement with the King, and now thought themſelves ſure of it; the Suſpicions of them growing ſo ſtrong, that they were look'd upon as Betrayers of the Cauſe, and loſt almoſt all their Friends in the Parliament. The Army likewiſe, which lay then about *Putney*, were no leſs diſſatisfy'd with their Proceedings, of which they receiv'd daily Information from thoſe that came to them from *London*; ſo that the Agitators began to complain openly in Council, both of the King and the Malignants about him, and declar'd, 'That ſince the King 'had rejected their Propoſals, they were no far-'ther engag'd to him; but that they were 'now

He prevails on the King to reject the Parliaments Propoſitions.

The Army prejudic'd againſt him.

'now to conſult their own Safety, and the 1647.
'publick good; and having the Power de-
'volved upon them by the Deciſion of the
'Sword, to which both Parties had appeal'd,
'and being convinc'd, that Monarchy was in-
'conſiſtent with the good of the Nation, they
'reſolved to uſe their Endeavours to reduce
'the Government of *England* to the Form
'of a *Common-wealth*.' They alſo deſign'd to have ſeiz'd *Aſhburnham* and *Berkley*, for negotiating the Treaty they ſuppos'd to have been carried on between the King and *Cromwell*; and carying their Fury yet further, were reſolv'd to wreſt the King out of the Hands of the two Traitors, as they call'd *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. Theſe Things ſtruck a great Terror into theſe two Leaders, ſo that they thought it neceſſary to draw the Army to a general Rendezvous, which they could the better bring about, becauſe moſt of the great Officers were ſtill well affected to the King, and diſlik'd theſe Proceedings of the Agitators, whoſe exorbitant Power they hop'd by that means to ſuppreſs. But the Agitators having notice of the intended Rendezvous, and gueſſing at the Deſign of it, us'd their utmoſt endeavours to prevent it, and reſolv'd before-hand to ſeize on the Perſon of the King.

The Fury of the Agitators.

Cromwell in the mean time acquainted the King with the Danger he was in, and aſſuring him of his real Service, proteſted to him, that it was not in his Power to undertake for his Security in the Place where he now reſided. Hereupon the King was reſolv'd to make his Eſcape from *Hampton-Court*; and ſome advis'd him to ſecure his Perſon by leaving the Kingdom: But to this he objected, That the Rendezvous being appointed for the next Week, he was unwil-

By *Cromwell*'s Advice the King makes his Eſcape from *Hampton-Court*.

1647. unwilling to quit the Army till that was over; because, if the ſuperior Officers prevail'd, they would be able to make good their Engagement; if not, they muſt apply themſelves to him for their own Security. Several other Advices were offer'd him; but he at laſt reſolv'd to go to the Iſle of *Wight*, being very probably, as *Ludlow* obſerves, recommended thither by *Cromwell*, who, as well as the King, had a good Opinion of Colonel *Hammond* the Governour, who was one of the Army. Purſuant to this Reſolution, the King left *Hampton-Court* in the Night, *Berkley* and *Aſhburnham* with ſome others accompanying him; and on the 13th of *November* they all went over to the Iſle of *Wight*, being conducted thither by *Hammond* himſelf, who the Day before came to wait on his Majeſty at *Titchfield*.

And goes to the Iſle of *Wight*.

CHAP. VII.

From the King's Eſcape from Hampton-Court, *and Departure to the Iſle of* Wight, *to the breaking out of the ſecond civil War.*

THE Parliament being inform'd of the King's withdrawing himſelf from *Hampton-Court*, was in a terrible Conſternation, and immediately paſs'd an Ordinance, declaring, 'That it ſhould be Confiſcation of Eſtate, and 'Loſs of Life, for any to Harbour, or Conceal 'the King's Perſon, without giving Information 'to the Parliament.' And being now moſtly devoted to the Army, they caus'd ſome of the moſt notorious Presbyterians Houſes to be ſearch'd

ſearch'd, and ſent Poſts to all Ports of the Kingdom, 'That they might be ſhut, and no 'Perſon be permitted to embark, leſt the 'King in Diſguiſe ſhould tranſport himſelf:' And a Proclamation was publiſh'd, for the Baniſhing all ſuch as had ever born Arms for the King, from the City, or any Place within twenty Miles of it. But within two Days their Fears were all remov'd by *Cromwell*'s informing the Houſe, 'That he had receiv'ed Letters from Colonel *Hammond*, of the 'King's coming to the Iſle of *Wight*, and 'that he remain'd there in *Corisbrook-Caſtle* 'till the Parliament's Pleaſure ſhould be 'known.' He at the ſame Time aſſur'd them, 'That Colonel *Hammond* was ſo honeſt a 'Man, and ſo much devoted to their Service, 'that they need not fear his being corrup'ted by any Body:' And all this Relation he made, ſays my Lord *Clarendon*, with ſo unuſual a Gaiety, that all Men concluded that his Majeſty was where *Cromwell* deſir'd he ſhould be. 1647. *Cromwell* acquaints the Parliament with it.

About this Time the Agitators of nine Regiments of Horſe, and ſeven of Foot preſented a Writing to the General, and afterwards to the Parliament, declaring; The riſe of the Levellers.

1. 'That the People being unequally di'ſtributed by Counties, Cities and Boroughs, 'for Election of their Deputies in Parliament, 'ought to be more indifferently proportion'd 'according to the Number of Inhabitants.

2. 'That this preſent Parliament be diſ'ſolved by the laſt Day of *September* next.

3. 'That the People do of Courſe chooſe 'themſelves a Parliament once in every two 'Years.

4. 'That

1647. 4. 'That the Power of this, and all other future 'Repreſentatives is inferiour only to theirs who 'chuſe them, and extends, without the Con- 'ſent of any other Perſon, to the enacting, 'altering, and repealing of Laws; to the e- 'recting and aboliſhing of Offices and Courts; 'to the appointing, removing, and calling to 'account Magiſtrates and Officers of all De- 'grees; to the making War and Peace; to 'the treating with foreign States, and gene- 'rally to whatſoever is not reſerved by thoſe 'repreſented to themſelves. And here they 'declare, 'That impreſſing or conſtraining a- 'ny to ſerve in the War, is againſt Freedom, 'and not allow'd to the Repreſentatives.

'That in all Laws every Perſon be bound 'alike; and that Tenure, Eſtates, Charter, 'Degree, Birth, or Place, do not confer a- 'ny Exception from the ordinary Courſe of 'legal Proceedings whereunto others are ſub- 'jected. And,

'That the Laws muſt be equal and good, 'and not deſtructive to the Safety and well 'being of the People.

'Theſe they declar'd to be their native 'Rights, which they were reſolv'd to main- 'tain, and not to depend, for the Settlement 'of their Peace and Freedom, upon him that 'intended their Bondage, [*meaning* the King] 'and brought a cruel War upon them.'

Thus the Agitators grew ſtill bolder, and were reſolv'd to accompliſh their Deſigns; and theſe with their Adherents were now call'd *Levellers*, and occaſion'd great Diſturbance to the Parliament and in the Army, as likewiſe the Trial and Death of the King.

The

The Time for the general Rendezvous being come, they who were of this Party, to diſtinguiſh themſelves, appear'd every one with a Paper in his Hat, with theſe Words written upon it, *The Rights of* England, *and the Conſent of the People*; ſignifying thereby, that their Deſign was to aboliſh, not only the Monarchy, but alſo the Houſe of Peers, and to eſtabliſh a pure Democracy. This was what Colonel *Rainsborough*, one of their Leaders, aſſiſted by *Eyre* and *Scot*, went about ſoliciting from one Regiment to another, ſtirring up the Soldiers againſt *Fairfax*, *Cromwell*, and the other general Officers. But *Cromwell* was reſolv'd to endeavour the Suppreſſion of this Licenſe: For which Purpoſe, being accompany'd with divers Officers, he with a wonderful Briskneſs and Vivacity, rode up to one of the Regiments, which wore the diſtinguiſhing Marks, and commanded them to take them out of their Hats; which they refuſing to do, he caus'd ſeveral of them to be ſeiz'd, and knock'd two or three of them in the Head with his own Hand; and then the others Hearts failing, they ſubmitted to him. He order'd one of thoſe whom he had ſeiz'd to be ſhot dead upon the Place, and deliver'd the reſt into the Hands of the Marſhal, and having diſpers'd the Army to their Quarters, wrote an Account of his Proceedings to the Parliament; who being very deſirous to have this Spirit quell'd in the Army, return'd him the Thanks of the Houſe. 1647.

They are ſuppreſs'd by *Cromwell.*

The Levellers being thus ſubdu'd, and the Parliament and Army being now pretty much of a Temper, 'twas agreed, that a perſonal Treaty ſhould be offer'd to his Majeſty, on Condition, that as a Pledge of his future Sincerity he

The Parliament offer a Treaty with the King,

1647. he would forthwith grant his royal Aſſent to four preliminary Bills. The *firſt* of which was for inveſting the Militia in the two Houſes: The *ſecond*, for revoking all Proclamations and Declarations againſt the Parliament: The *third*, for making void all ſuch Titles of Honour, as had been confer'd by his Majeſty, ſince his leaving the Parliament; and that for the future, none ſhould be granted to any Perſon without Conſent of the Parliament: And the *fourth*, that the Houſes ſhould have Power to adjourn themſelves as they ſhould think fit. The *Scotch* being not included in this Treaty, their Commiſſioners ſent a large Declaration in very high Language to the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, proteſting againſt the ſending of the four Bills, and preſſing for a perſonal Treaty with the King at *London*, upon ſuch Propoſitions as ſhould be agreed on by the Advice and Conſent of the two Kingdoms. But the Parliament was to be aw'd only by the Army; and ſo they order'd the Printer of the *Scotch* Declaration to be committed, and then ſent them back an Anſwer full of Reproof and Contempt.

On Condition he would firſt paſs four Acts.

Before we ſee what Reception the four Bills met with from his Majeſty, let us obſerve how Matters paſs'd in the Army ſince the late Rendezvous. *Ludlow*, as great an Enemy to *Cromwell* as to the King, gives us the cleareſt Account of the ſudden Turn of Affairs there, which was to the great Damage, and even the Ruin of the King's Intereſt; whom therefore I ſhall follow upon this Occaſion.

A large Account of *Cromwell*'s Reconciliation with the *Levellers*, and his quitting the King's Intereſt.

He informs us, that Colonel *Hammond* and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, had frequent Conferences with the King, who had made ſuch Promiſes to *Hammond*, that he expreſs'd his earneſt Deſire, that

that the Army might reſume their Power, and rid themſelves of the Agitators, whoſe Authority, he ſaid, he never lik'd. To this end he ſent one Mr. *Traughton* his Chaplain, to the Army, to adviſe them to make uſe of their late Succeſs againſt the Agitators; and ſoon after he earneſtly preſs'd the King to ſend ſome of thoſe who attended on him to the Army, with Lettets of Compliment to *Fairfax*, and others of greater Confidence to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. He alſo wrote to them himſelf, 'Conjuring them by their Engagements, their 'Honour and Conſcience, to come to a ſpeedy 'Agreement with the King, and not to expoſe 'themſelves to the fantaſtick Giddineſs of the 'Agitators.' Sir *John Berkley* was appointed by the King, in purſuance of *Hammond*'s Advice, to go over to the Army; who taking with him Mr. *Henry Berkley* his Couſin, went over from the Iſland with a Paſs from the Governor of *Cowes*. Being on his Way towards the Army, he met Mr. *Traughton* on his Return between *Bagſhot* and *Windſor*, who inform'd him, *That he had no good News to carry back to his Majeſty, the Army having enter'd into new Reſolutions concerning his Perſon.* He had not gone much farther, before he was met by Cornet *Joyce*, who told him, 'That he was a-'ſtoniſh'd at his Deſign of going to the Army, 'for that it had been debated amongſt the A-'gitators, whether, in Juſtification of them-'ſelves, the King ſhould be brought to a Tri-'al;' of which Opinion he declar'd himſelf to be. Sir *John* however reſolv'd to go to the Army, and being arriv'd at *Windſor*, went to the General's Quarters, where the Officers of the Army were aſſembled. Being admitted, he deliver'd his Letters to the General, who re- 1647.

1647. receiving them, order'd him to withdraw. Having waited about half an Hour, he was again call'd in, when the General, with ſome Severity in his Looks, told him, *That they were the Parliament's Army, and therefore could ſay nothing to the King's Motion about Peace, but muſt refer thoſe Matters, and the King's Letters, to their Conſideration.* Sir *John* then look'd upon *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and the reſt of his Acquaintance; but they ſaluted him very coldly, and ſhewing him Colonel *Hammond*'s Letter to them, ſmil'd with diſdain upon it.

Finding himſelf thus diſappointed, *Berkley* went to his Lodging; where having ſtaid two Hours without any Company, he at laſt order'd his Servant to go out, and ſee if he could find any of his Acquaintance. The Servant going out met with one who was a general Officer, who bid him tell his Maſter, that he would meet him in ſuch a Place at Midnight. They being accordingly met, the Officer acquainted *Berkley* in general, That he had no good News to tell him; and then proceeding to Particulars, ſaid, 'You know, that I and my Friends engag'd ourſelves to you; that we were zealous for an Agreement, and if the reſt were not ſo, we were abus'd: That ſince the Tumults in the Army, we did miſtruſt *Cromwell* and *Ireton*; whereof I inform'd you. I come now to tell you, that we miſtruſt neither, and that we are reſolv'd, notwithſtanding our Engagement, to deſtroy the King and his Poſterity; to which purpoſe *Ireton* has made two Propoſitions this Afternoon; one, that you ſhould be ſent Priſoner to *London*; the other, that none ſhould ſpeak with you upon pain of Death; and I do now hazard my Life by doing it. The way deſign'd to ruin his Majeſty, is to

ſend

'ſend eight Hundred of the moſt diſaffected 1647.
'in the Army to ſecure his Perſon, and then
'to bring him to a Trial, and I dare think
'no farther. This will be done in ten Days;
'and therefore if the King can eſcape, let
'him do it as he loves his Life.

Sir *John* being exceedingly troubled at this Relation, ask'd his Friend the Reaſon of this Change, *ſeeing the King had done all things in Compliance with the Army, and the Officers were become ſuperior ſince the laſt Rendezvous.* Whereupon he gave him this Account: 'That tho' one 'of the Mutineers was ſhot to Death, eleven 'more impriſon'd, and the reſt in Appearance 'over-aw'd, yet they were ſo far from being 'ſo in reality, that two Thirds of the Army 'had been ſince with *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, to 'let them know, that tho' they were ſure to 'periſh in the Enterprize, they would leave 'nothing unattempted to bring the whole Ar-'my to their Senſe; and if all fail'd, they would 'make a Diviſion in the Army, and unite 'with any who would aſſiſt them in the De-'ſtruction of their Oppoſers. That *Cromwell* 'and thus *Ireton* reaſon'd with themſelves, *If the* 'Army divide, *the greateſt Part will join with* 'the Presbyterians, *and will moſt probably prevail* 'to our ruin; *or we ſhall be oblig'd in ſuch a* 'Manner to apply our ſelves to the King, *as rather* 'to beg than offer any Aſſiſtance; *which if the* 'King ſhall give, *and be ſo fortunate as to pre-*'vail; *if he ſhall then pardon us, it will be all* 'we can expect, *and more than we can aſſure our* 'ſelves of: And thereupon concluded, *That if* 'they could not bring the Army to their Senſe, 'it was beſt to comply with them, *a Diviſion be-*'ing utterly deſtructive to both.' In purſuance therefore of this Reſolution, Lieutenant-Gene-

1647. ral *Cromwell* employ'd all his Thoughts and Endeavours to make his Peace with the Party that was moſt ſet againſt the King; pretending, as he knew well enough how to do on ſuch Occaſions, *That the Glory of this World had ſo dazled his Eyes, that he could not diſcern clearly the great Works that the Lord was doing.* He alſo ſent comfortable Meſſages to the Priſoners he had ſeiz'd at the late Rendezvous, aſſuring them, that nothing ſhould be done to their Prejudice; and by theſe and the like Arts, he perfected his Reconciliation with the *Levelling* Party.

Sir *John Berkley* returning to his Lodging, diſpatch'd his Couſin to the Iſle of *Wight* with two Letters; one to Colonel *Hammond*, giving a general Account, and doubtful Judgment of Affairs in the Army; another in Cypher, with a particular Relation of the Conference he had with the forementiön'd general Officer, and a moſt earneſt Supplication to his Majeſty, to think of nothing but his immediate Eſcape. The next Morning he ſent Colonel *Cook* to *Cromwell*, to acquaint him that he had Letters and Inſtructions to him from the King: But *Cromwell* return'd him Anſwer by the Meſſenger, *That he durſt not ſee him, it being very dangerous to them both*; aſſuring him, *that he would ſerve the King as long as he could do it without his own Ruin*; but deſir'd, *that it might not be expected, that he ſhould periſh for his ſake.*

Thus we have ſeen the Motives, that prevail'd on this famous General to abandon the King's Intereſt. And much the ſame Account is given by *Mentet*, who will not at all be ſuſpected of being partial to *Cromwell*: So that if he hitherto

hitherto acted ſincerely in his Deſign to ſerve the King, as is moſt probable, they who charge him with having contriv'd his Ruin from the Beginning of the civil Wars, aſcribe to him more refin'd and more ambitious Vices than he really had. He was indeed ambitious enough, and was as good as any at the Art of Diſſimulation: But certainly nothing hinders, but a Diſſembler may ſometimes be in earneſt; and his Ambition might be gratify'd by the private Treaty, that was ſuppos'd to be carry'd on between him and the King, by ſtipulating ſuch Honours and Advancements for himſelf and Family, as ſuch a Service, (*viz*, reſtoring the King to his Throne) might reaſonably lay claim to. 1647.

Story of the King's deceiving *Cromwell*.

And here I cannot omit another Account, that is given by ſome of *Cromwell*'s falling off from the King, and deſerting his Intereſt. They tell us, that there was a Report, that *Cromwell* made a private Article with the King, *That if his Majeſty clos'd with the Army's propoſals, he ſhould be made Earl of* Eſſex, *Knight of the Garter, and firſt Captain of the Horſe-Guards*; and Ireton *was to be made Lieutenant of* Ireland. Other Honours and Employments were likewiſe ſtipulated for *Cromwell*'s Family and Friends. But the King was ſo uxorious, that he would do nothing without the Advice of his Queen, who not liking the Propoſal, he ſent her a Letter to acquaint her, *That tho' he aſſented to the Army's Propoſals, yet if by ſo doing he could procure Peace, it would be eaſier then to take off* Cromwell, *than now he was the Head that govern'd the Army. Cromwell*, who had his Spies upon every Motion of the King, intercepted this Letter, and thereupon reſolv'd never to truſt the King more. This indeed is

1647. ſaid to have happen'd before the King left *Hampton-Court*: for upon this they tell us, that *Cromwell* fearing he could not manage his Deſigns, if the King were ſo near the Parliament and City as *Hampton-Court*, gave him private Information, that he was in no Safety there, by reaſon of the Hatred which the Agitators bore him; and that he would be more ſecure in the Iſle of *Wight*. Hereupon the King, whilſt the Parliament and *Scotch* Commiſſioners were debating his Anſwer to their Propoſitions, made his Eſcape from *Hampton-Court*; as before related.

We can ſay nothing to the Truth of this Story, but leave it to the Reader to judge of it as he thinks fit. Only thus much we may obſerve, that *F. Orleans* ſays, 'Twas believ'd in *France*, that the King had deceiv'd *Cromwell*; tho' he makes this to be purely the Effect of *Cromwell*'s Artifice. And the Lord *Clarendon* ſpeaks of *Cromwell*'s complaining that the King could not be truſted, tho' he makes his whole Carriage towards his Majeſty to be nothing but Hypocriſy and Diſſimulation, in order to bring about his own Deſigns. However I ſhall ſet down his Words. *Aſhburnham* and *Berkley*, ſays he, receiv'd many Advertiſements (which was a little before the King's Eſcape) from ſome Officers with whom they had moſt convers'd, and who would have been glad that the King might have been reſtor'd by the Army, for the Preferments, which they expected might fall to their Share, 'That *Cromwell* and *Ireton* reſolv'd never to 'truſt the King, or do any thing towards his 'Reſtoration.' And a little after, he ſays, That *Cromwell* himſelf expoſtulated with Mr. *Aſhburnham*, and complain'd, 'That the King

'could

'could not be truſted, and that he had no 1647.
'Affection or Confidence in the Army, but
'was jealous of them, and of all the Officers;
'that he had Intrigues in the Parliament,
'and Treaties with the Presbyterians of the
'City, to raiſe new troubles; that he had a
'Treaty concluded with the *Scotch* Commiſſi-
'oners to engage the Nation again in Blood:
'And therefore he would not be anſwerable,
'if any thing fell out amiſs, and contrary to
'Expectation.'

For a Concluſion, I ſhall ſet down what Dr. *Welwood* in his Memoirs, ſays, concerning this Matter. 'As every thing, *ſays he*, did con-
'tribute to the Fall of King *Charles* I. ſo
'did every thing contribute to the Riſe of
'*Cromwell*: And as there was no Deſign at
'firſt againſt the King's Life, ſo it's probable
'that *Cromwell* had no Thoughts, for a long
'Time, of ever arriving at what he afterwards
'was. It is known, he was once in Treaty
'with the King, after the Army had carried
'his Majeſty away from *Holmby*-Houſe, to have
'reſtor'd him to the Throne; which proba-
'bly he would have done, if the Secret had
'not been like to take Vent, by the Indiſcretion of
'ſome about the King; which puſh'd *Crom-*
'*well* on to prevent his own, by the Ruin of
'the King.'

Meeting of Officers at *Windſor* reſolve to have the King proſecuted.

However it was, (for theſe things muſt ſtill remain under ſome Confuſion) it is certain, as the Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, that a few Days after the King's Departure from *Hampton-Court*, and after it was known he was in the Iſle of *Wight*, there was a Meeting of the general Officers of the Army at *Windſor*, (very probably the ſame which *Ludlow* mentions, into which Sir *John Berkley* was admitted)

1647. where *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were preſent, to conſider what ſhould now be done with the King: And 'twas reſolv'd, *That he ſhould be proſecuted for his Life as a Criminal Perſon.* This Reſolution, however, was a great Secret, whereof the Parliament had not the leaſt Notice or Suſpicion; but was, as it had been, to be led on by Degrees to do what it never deſign'd.

The Parliament's four Bills preſented to him.

The Parliament's Commiſſioners being arriv'd in the Iſle of *Wight*, preſented the four preliminary Bills with the Propoſitions on them, to his Majeſty; and the next Day the *Scotch* Commiſſioners waited on the King, and enter'd their Proteſtation to this purpoſe, 'That they 'had endeavour'd all Ways and Means with 'the Parliament of *England*, for furthering 'a happy Peace; but having ſeen the Pro'poſitions and Bills brought to his Majeſty, 'which they apprehended prejudicial to Re'ligion, the Crown, and the Union between 'the Kingdoms; they therefore in the Name 'of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, declar'd their Diſſent.' The King having no mind to paſs the four Bills, and gueſſing what might thence enſue, began to think of making his Eſcape. And General *Fairfax* ſent a Letter to the Houſe of Commons to acquaint them, that there had been ſome Meeting in the Iſle of *Wight*, with an Intention to reſcue the King; for which Reaſon he had ſent Orders to the Governor, to have a ſtrict Guard upon his Majeſty's Perſon. Whereupon the Parliament agreed, that his Excellency be requir'd to take ſpecial Care, for ſecuring the King's Perſon in the Caſtle of *Carisbrook*, and that *Hammond* ſhould obey his further Orders and Directions.

The

The Commiſſioners of the Parliament were by this time come back with the King's Anſwer, which imported, *That he had refus'd to paſs the Bills, or to make a Compoſure in that way; but had barely offer'd a perſonal Treaty.* Upon this there follow'd a long Debate in the Houſe, and many ſevere and bitter Speeches were made againſt the King. Among the reſt, *Cromwell* declar'd, 'That the King was a Man 'of great Parts and great Underſtanding; but 'with-all ſo great a Diſſembler, and ſo falſe a 'Man, that he was not to be truſted.' And thereupon he rehears'd ſeveral Particulars whilſt he was in the Army, *That the King wiſh'd ſuch and ſuch things might be done; which being done to gratify him, he was diſpleas'd, and complain'd of it: That whilſt he profeſs'd with all Solemnity, that he refer'd himſelf wholly to the Parliament, and depended only on their Wiſdom and Counſel, for ſettling and compoſing the Diſtractions of the Kingdom, he at the ſame Time had ſecret Treaties with the* Scotch *Commiſſioners, how he might imbroil the Nation in a new War, and deſtroy the Parliament.* Concluding, 'That they might trouble themſelves 'no further with ſending Meſſages or farther 'Propoſitions to the King, but that they might 'enter upon thoſe Counſels, which were ne'ceſſary towards the Settlement of the King'dom, without having further Recourſe to 'him.' Thoſe of his Party ſeconded this Motion with new Reproaches upon the Perſon of the King; and after ſeveral Days ſpent in paſſionate Debates on this Matter, the Houſe of Commons voted. *Firſt*, 'That they will make 'no further Applications or Addreſſes to the 'King *Secondly*, That no Addreſſes or Ap'plications be made to the King by any Per'ſon

1647.

He refuſes to paſs them.

Cromwell's Speech in the Houſe thereupon.

Votes of no more Addreſſes to the King.

1647. 'ſon whatſoever, without Leave from the 'Parliament. *Thirdly*, That they will receive 'no more Meſſages from the King; and that no 'Perſon do preſume to bring any Meſſage from 'him to the Parliament, or any other Perſon. '*Fourthly*, That the Perſon or Perſons who 'ſhall make Breach of theſe Orders, ſhall in-'cur the Penalty of High-Treaſon.' And to 'theſe Votes the Lords ſoon after agreed.

A further Account of the Speeches of *Cromwell* and *Ireton*.

Some give a larger Account of the Speeches of *Cromwell* and *Ireton* in this grand Debate. They ſay, that *Ireton* was the firſt that ſpake with Warmth, and that *Cromwell* ſeconded him; and that from the King's refuſing to ſign the four Acts, they infer'd, 'That he 'had ſufficiently declar'd himſelf for Arbi-'trary Government:' And alledg'd, 'That he 'was no longer the Protector, but the Tyrant 'of his People; and conſequently, that they 'were no longer his Subjects; and that they 'ought to govern without him; that their 'long Patience had avail'd nothing; and that 'it was expected from their Zeal to their 'Country, that they ſhould take ſuch Reſo-'lutions, as were worthy of an Aſſembly with 'whom the Nation had intruſted their Safety.' They add, that as theſe two Perſons were not only Members of the Houſe, but alſo Chiefs in the Army; after they had firſt ſpoken under the former Character, they ſpake again in the other, to this Effect: *That they were well perſuaded of the Parliament's good Intentions, and were aſſur'd, that without ſuffering themſelves to be amuſed any longer, they would defend the Nation by their own proper Authority, and by the Courage of thoſe valiant Men, that were enroll'd under their Banners, who by their Mouths gave them Aſſurances of their Fidelity, which nothing*

thing could ſhake. But have a care, ſaid they, *that you do not give the Army, who ſacrifice themſelves for the Liberty of the Nation, any Grounds to ſuſpect you of betraying them; and don't oblige them to look for their own Safety, and that of the Nation, in their own Strength, which they deſire to owe to nothing, but to the Readineſs and Vigour of your Reſolutions.* This was a bold Speech, if true; and 'tis farther ſaid, that *Cromwell*, at the Concluſion of it clapt his Hand upon his Sword. 1647.

Thus the Parliament and Army were united againſt the King; and now Colonel *Rainsborough*, one of the Chief of the Levellers, was appointed Admiral of the Fleet; and two or three Members of the Houſe of Commons, of that Party, were ſent down to the Head-Quarters at *Windſor*, with Orders, to diſcharge from Cuſtody Captain *Reynolds*, and ſome others, who had been impriſon'd by the Officers of the Army, for endeavouring to effect that which they themſelves were now doing; and to exhort the Officers to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours towards a ſpeedy Settlement.

1648. But notwithſtanding this Conjunction of the Parliament and Army, they could not enjoy their Power and Authority without great Diſturbance and Oppoſition. The Votes of Non-Addreſſes had exceedingly enrag'd the Presbyterians as well as the royal Party; and the People in general began to be very uneaſy and diſcontented. Taxes and Impoſitions were continually increas'd, and became almoſt an inſupportable Burden to the Nation, and yet there was no likelihood of coming to a Settlement for the Eaſe of theſe Grievances; and moſt believ'd there would never be any till the King was reſtor'd. Upon this, the People in many

Diſcontents and Tumults of the People.

Parts

1648. Parts of the Kingdom began to exert themſelves in the behalf of their Sovereign, who, however cloſely confin'd in the Iſle of *Wight*, ſtill held a Correſpondence in *England*, and had Intelligence from thence. Several Petitions were brought to the Parliament by great Numbers of People, in a tumultuous Manner, for a perſonal Treaty with the King; of which the chief were thoſe of *Surrey*, *Eſſex* and *Kent*: And in many Places, the People began to think of taking up Arms for compaſſing theſe Deſigns. Beſides, the *Scots*, purſuant to their Treaty with the King, were making all poſſible Preparations for raiſing an Army; wherein the *Presbyterians* and *Cavaliers* join'd, tho' with different Views; and the *Presbyterians* in *England*, diſcours'd freely of great Hopes from the other Kingdom. Thus the dark Clouds began to gather apace, and in a ſhort time a ſecond Civil War infeſted the whole Nation.

Cromwell's Management thereupon

In the mean time, as *Ludlow* tells us, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* procur'd a Meeting of ſeveral leading Men of the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* Parties, both Members of Parliament and Miniſters, at a Dinner in *Weſtminſter*, in order to promote a Reconciliation between the two Intereſts: But he found it a work too hard for him to heal the Differences and Animoſities of theſe two prevailing Parties, one of which would endure no Superior, the other no Equal; ſo that this Meeting came to nothing.

He contrives a Conference between the Grandees and Commonwealth's Men.

Another Conference was by his Contrivance held in *King-ſtreet*, between thoſe call'd the Grandees of the Houſe and Army, and the Commonwealth's Men; in which the Grandees, of whom *Cromwell* was the Head, deliver'd themſelves with ſome Uncertainty, and would not declare their Opinions either for a Monarchical,

chical, Ariſtocratial or Democratical Government, maintaining that any of them might be good in themſelves or for the Nation, according as Providence ſhould direct: Whilſt the Commonwealth-Men would have it, that Monarchy was neither good in it ſelf, nor for the Nation, and us'd ſeveral Arguments to confirm their Opinion, recommending at the ſame Time the Eſtabliſhment of an equal Commonwealth; notwithſtanding which, the Lieutenant-General profeſs'd himſelf for the preſent to be unreſolv'd; and the next Day paſſing by *Ludlow* in the Houſe, he told him, *That he was indeed convinc'd of the Deſireableneſs of what was propos'd, but not of the Feaſibleneſs of it.* 1648.

Cromwell, however, in theſe Times of Difficulty and Danger, thought fit to court the Commonwealth Party, and to that end invited ſome of them to confer with him at his Chamber. The next time he came to the Houſe of Commons, he inform'd *Ludlow* of it, who freely told him, *That he knew how to Cajole and give them good Words, when he had occaſion to make uſe of them.* Whereupon with ſome Paſſion he ſaid, *They were a proud ſort of People, and only conſiderable in their own Conceits.* At another Time he complain'd to *Ludlow*, as they were walking in the *Palace-Yard, of the unhappineſs of his Condition, having made the greateſt Part of the Nation his Enemies, by adhering to a juſt Cauſe.* But his greateſt Trouble he ſaid was, *That many who were engag'd in the ſame Cauſe with him, had entertain'd a Jealouſy and Suſpicion of him; which he affirm'd to be a great Diſcouragement to him.* This ſhews, that notwithſtanding his late Reconciliation with thoſe call'd *Levellers*, they ſtill ſuſpected he was not true to their Cauſe; and yet, that he found him- He courts the Commonwealth Party.

1648. himſelf under a Neceſſity of keeping as fair with them as poſſible.

Tumults and Inſurrections ſtill increaſing, and all Things ſeeming to threaten a new War, *Cromwell* thought it likewiſe neceſſary to preſerve a good Underſtanding between the Parliament and Army. He therefore got the General to write to the Houſe of Lords, to aſſure them of the Army's Submiſſion, and that they would act nothing but in Concert with the two Houſes, and by their Order. Being likewiſe afraid of the City, he propos'd in the Houſe of Commons to unite the Intereſts of the Parliament, the City and the Army, and to make them (as he ſaid) invincible, by making them inſeparable. So a Treaty was ſet on Foot, in which indeed the Army was not mention'd, only that the two Regiments that had come into the City upon ſome Diſturbance there, ſhould be withdrawn; but the Treaty only mention'd the two Houſes, and the City; and this Conjunction was ſufficient for *Cromwell* at preſent; for he thereby prevented the Union, which the City was upon the Point of concluding with the *Scotch* Royaliſts; and beſides, the Power which the Army had in the Houſe, did now ſecure the City to them. But let us now ſee, how the ſecond Civil War was manag'd, and the great Share of Succeſs our Lieutenant-General had therein.

He endeavours a Union between the Parliament, Army and City.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Second Civil War, and Cromwell's *Actions in it.*

THE first that actually took up Arms, were the *Welsh*; and this they did under the Conduct of Major-General *Laughorn*, Colonel *Poyer* and Colonel *Powel*, who had all three been formerly very zealous in acting on the Parliament's Side: But being now to be disbanded by Orders of the Council of War, they refus'd to obey; and the better to secure themselves, declar'd for the King, and acted by Commission and Powers from the Prince of *Wales*. Major-General *Stradling*, and other Royalists joining with *Laughorn*, he soon had the appearance of a considerable Army, which very shortly enabled him to possess himself of the Town and Castles of *Pembroke* and *Tenby*; at which time *Chepstow*-Castle was likewise surpriz'd by Sir *Nicholas Kemish*. The Preparations in *Kent* for a War were not less formidable; for great Numbers in that County rendezvousing near *Rochester*, they chose *Goring* Earl of *Norwich*, who was then with them, for their General; and they soon receiv'd a considerable Addition to their Strength, by great Numbers of Apprentices and reform'd Officers and Soldiers daily flocking from *London* to their Quarters; which so frightned the two Houses, that they presently restor'd to the City their *Militia*; and *Skippon* being re-admitted to the Command of their Forces, they interrupted the Com-

The beginning of the second Civil War.

1648. Communication with *Kent*, by placing Guards upon the Paſſages of the River. The increaſe of the *Kentiſh* Forces ſo animated the Seamen, that a conſiderable Part of the Navy, with Captain *Batten*, ſometime Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Warwick*, revolted from the Parliament, and put themſelves under the Power of Prince *Charles*. But the fierceſt Storm was threatned from the Preparations in the *North*, where Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and others of the King's Party having ſurpriz'd the ſtrong Town of *Berwick*, and Sir *Philip Muſgrave* and Sir *Thomas Glemham*, that of *Carliſle*, had rais'd a conſiderable Body to join with the *Scots*, who were now about to enter *England* with a powerful Army. Beſides this, the Earl of *Holland*, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Francis* his Brother, the Earl of *Peterborough* and ſome other Perſons of Quality, having form'd a Party of about five hundred Horſe with ſome Foot, for his Majeſty's Service, appear'd with them near *Kingſton*, and declar'd againſt the Parliament. Several Caſtles were ſeiz'd and declar'd for the King; and among the reſt *Pomfret* was artfully ſurpriz'd by Major *Morrice*: And there was ſcarce a County in *England*, where there was not ſome Aſſociation forming to appear in Arms for the King.

Proceedings of the Parliament thereupon.

Theſe vigorous Preparations for a War became very formidable to thoſe at *Weſtminſter*; who hereupon appointed a Committee of Safety for the Common-wealth which daily ſat at *Derby*-Houſe, and conſiſted of twenty Perſons, *viz.* ſeven Lords, and thirteen of the Houſe of Commons, of whom Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* was one. This Committee had Power given them to ſuppreſs all Tumults and Inſurrections, and for that end to raiſe Forces

as

as they ſaw Occaſion. And then for the more ſpeedy Suppreſſion of the ſeveral Inſurrections, the Army was divided, and ſmall Parties ſent to thoſe Places where the Royaliſts were weakeſt. *Fairfax*, *Lambert*, and *Cromwell* commanded the reſt, every one marching a ſeveral Way; *Fairfax* into *Kent*, *Lambert* into the *North*, and *Cromwell* into *Wales*, who was afterwards to march into the *North* and join *Lambert*. 1648.

Several Inſurrections quell'd.

The Earl of *Holland* and Duke of *Buckingham* were ſoon defeated by a Party of Horſe and Foot that was ſent after them, under the Command of Sir *Michael Liveſey*. The Earl was taken Priſoner; the Duke, after loſing his Brother, the Lord *Francis*, narrowly eſcap'd, and went over to *France*. The Earl of *Warwick*, with the Fleet equipped for him by the Parliament, fell down the River towards Prince *Charles*, who with the revolted Ships had block'd up the Mouth of the *Thames*, where he lay ſome time in Expectation, preſuming that the Earl would not fight him, and might perhaps come over to him: But perceiving, by the Manner of his Approach, that he was miſtaken in that Particular, he thought fit to make all the Sail he could for the Coaſt of *Holland*. The Caſtles of *Deal* and *Sandwich* were reduc'd by Colonel *Rich*; and many of the revolted Ships not finding Things according to their Expectation, return'd to the Obedience of the Parliament. In the mean time General *Fairfax* routed the *Kentiſh* Royaliſts at *Maidſtone*, and drove the Lord *Goring* with his Men into *Eſſex*; where, tho' join'd by the Lord *Capel*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Liſle*, and others, *Fairfax* forc'd them to ſhut themſelves up in *Colcheſter*, where he beſieg'd

1648. beſieg'd them, and lay before the Place a long Time: but having compell'd them at laſt to ſurrender upon ſuch Conditions as he would allow them, Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Liſle* were ſhot to Death by Sentence of the Council of War, and the Lords *Goring* and *Capel*, were ſent Priſoners to *Windſor-Caſtle*. But paſſing by theſe things, as not ſo immediately concerning our preſent Deſign, let us ſee what Share of Glory Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* acquir'd by his Succeſſes in this War.

Cromwell being ſent into *Wales* diſpatches *Horton* before him.

His Buſineſs, as before hinted, was to reduce the King's Party in *Wales*. In order to effect this, he ſent Colonel *Horton* thither before him, with about three thouſand Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, he himſelf following with as many Forces as could be ſpar'd from the Army. Being within three or four Days march of the Colonel, he receiv'd Information, that *Laughorn* with an Army of near eight Thouſand, had engag'd him at St. *Fagons* in *Glamorganſhire*; that upon the firſt Charge his Forces gave Ground; but afterwards reflecting on the Danger they were in, the Country being full of Enemies, they charg'd the Van of the Royaliſts, where the beſt of *Laughorn*'s Men were, with ſuch Fury and Reſolution, that they oblig'd them to give way; which thoſe in the Rear, being moſtly new-rais'd Men, perceiving, they began to ſhift for themſelves: Upon which *Horton*'s Men proſecuted their Advantage with ſo much Vigor and Succeſs, that the whole Body of their Enemies was ſoon routed, fifteen Hundred ſlain, and near three Thouſand taken Priſoners.

Who defeats *Laughorn*'s Army.

Cromwell beſieges *Chepſtow*.

Upon this *Cromwell* haſtens to join him; and in his march comes before *Chepſtow*, where they

they drew out ſome Forces againſt him: But Colonel *Pride*'s Men fell on ſo furiouſly that they gain'd the Town, and beat the Soldiers into the Caſtle; which being ſtrongly fortify'd, and well provided, *Cromwell* ſent to *Briſtol* for ſome great Guns, and haſtening into *Pembrokeſhire*, left Colonel *Ewer* to proſecute the Siege; who having made a Breach on the 25th of *May*, reſolutely attack'd and carried the Caſtle Sword in Hand; Sir *Nicholas Kemiſh*, who commanded there, being ſlain, and a hundred and twenty taken Priſoners. 1648.

Storms *Tenby*.

Cromwell being arriv'd in *Pembrokeſhire*, firſt orders the ſtorming of *Tenby* with Colonel *Overton*'s Regiment, and part of Sir *W. Conſtable*'s, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Read*; and ſo after ſeveral furious Aſſaults, the Town firſt, and then the Caſtle ſurrender'd upon Mercy.

Takes *Pembroke* Town and Caſtle.

Laughorn and *Powel*, after their Defeat by Colonel *Horton*, eſcap'd to *Pembroke*, which *Poyer* kept for them. Here they thought themſelves ſafe, when *Cromwell* appearing, beſieg'd them himſelf in Perſon in that Place: But that dreadful Name did not ſo diſcourage them, but that, being fully perſuaded that the ſtopping of that General would be as good as a Victory, when the Parliament had ſo much Work on their Hands elſewhere, they reſolv'd to ſtand out, and defended themſelves long enough to have wearied out almoſt any other Man, as little us'd to be baffled as *Cromwell*. On the contrary, the Rumour of the *Scotch* Invaſion daily increaſing, animated the Lieutenant-General to employ all his Skill and Vigor for the Reduction of this important Place. The Garriſon within, as has been ſaid, was ſtrong and reſolute, and the Place well fortify'd, which how-

1648. however he was reſolv'd to attempt by Storm; and falling on with ſingular Courage, met with gallant Reſiſtance: After which, not thinking it adviſeable to expoſe his Men to new Hazards, he determined to gain that by Famine, which could not ſo well be effected by Force. And this he was the rather induc'd to do, for that he had certain Intelligence of the ſmall Quantity of Proviſions they had in the Town and Caſtle: And then, Diviſions began to ariſe amongſt them, which at length grew to that height, that the Soldiers were ready to mutiny againſt their Commanders. Accordingly, *Cromwell* order'd ſtrict Guard to be kept in his Trenches, to keep them from running out; which Order being well obſerv'd, Hunger at length ſo quell'd their Reſolutions, that they deſir'd a Parley, and on the 11th of *July* ſurrendred the Town and Caſtle to him upon Articles. *Laughorn*, *Poyer*, and *Powel*, and ſome other Officers, render'd themſelves Priſoners at Mercy. Sir *Charles Kemiſh*, Sir *Henry Stradling*, and about ten more Officers and Gentlemen, were to depart the Kingdom within ſix Weeks, and not to return in two Years; and all the reſt to have Liberty to go to their Homes, and not to be plunder'd. The Sick and wounded were to be taken Care of; the Towns-men not to be plunder'd, but to enjoy their Liberty as formerly; and together with the Town and Caſtle, the Arms, Ammunition and Proviſions were to be deliver'd up to Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, for the uſe of the Parliament. *Laughorn*, *Poyer* and *Powel* were afterwards condemn'd by Sentence of a Court Martial; but having the Favour to draw Lots which of them ſhould die, the other two to be ſpar'd, the Lot fell upon Colonel *Poyer*, who was

was accordingly ſhot to Death in *Covent-Garden.* 1648.

About the time that *Pembroke* was reduc'd, Duke *Hamilton* enter'd *England* with an Army of about Twenty Thouſand *Scots*, who were farther ſtrengthen'd by the Acceſſion of about five Thouſand *Engliſh*, under the Command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*. *Scotland* was at this time divided into two Parties, very violent in their Oppoſition one to the other; the rigid *Presbyterians*, who ſo ador'd the *Covenant*, in the ſtricteſt Senſe of the Letter, that they would not depart from the moſt rigid Clauſe in it, and were utterly againſt having any thing to do with the *Cavaliers* in this Expedition; and theſe were headed by the Marquis of *Argyle:* And the *Hamiltonian* Party, who were in effect for reſtoring the King without any Terms, tho' at the ſame time, in order to the more eaſy compaſſing of their Deſigns, they pretended a great Veneration for the ſame *Covenant*. Now, tho' the former was a ſtrong Party, and their Number very great; yet the others had manag'd ſo dextrouſly in getting ſuch Elections of Members for the Parliament, as might enable them to carry their Point, that when it came to a Trial in that Aſſembly, the Anti-Covenanters carry'd all before them; ſo that inſtead of the Marquis of *Argyle*, the Duke of *Hamilton*, who was the chief of this latter Party, was appointed General of their Army, all the Inferior Officers being of the ſame Mold and Principle; inſomuch that the Pulpits, which before had proclaimed this War, now accompany'd the Army that was marching into *England*, with their Curſes.

The Houſe of Commons receiving Intelligence that the *Scots* had invaded *England*, declar'd them to be Enemies, and order'd Lieutenant

1648. General *Cromwell* to advance towards them, and fight them. Accordingly, having compleated the Reduction of *Wales*, *Cromwell* march'd towards the *North* with all his Power; and ſent to Major-General *Lambert*, deſiring him not to engage with the *Scots*, till he came up to him and join'd him. *Lambert* therefore skilfully endeavour'd, rather to harraſs the *Scotch* Army than to fight it; and choſe rather to let them advance, that they might have the longer Way to retreat Home; and he found his Task with them much the eaſier, by reaſon of their ſeveral unſeaſonable Halts, by which means the Army was daily diminiſh'd, and often ſeparated to their great Diſadvantage; all which was owing either to dark Deſigns in the Army, Diviſions, or weak Management.

Marches againſt the *Scots*.

Cromwell having join'd *Lambert*, both Armies met on the 17th of *Auguſt*, near *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*. The *Engliſh* in the *Scotch* Army had the Honour of the Van, and for a Time, engag'd *Cromwell*'s Men with much Bravery; but were at laſt ſo vigorouſly preſs'd upon by them, that they were forc'd to retreat to a Paſs, which they endeavour'd to maintain, whilſt they ſent to the Duke for Succour; which he not ſending, they began to ſhift for themſelves; tho' *Langdale* afterwards declar'd; *That if one thouſand Foot had been ſent to him, he verily believ'd he ſhould have gain'd the Day*; and *Cromwell* himſelf acknowledg'd, *That he never ſaw Foot fight ſo deſperately as they did.* The *Scots* perceiving the Diſorder their *Engliſh* Friends were put into, it made ſuch an Impreſſion upon them, that they ſoon follow'd their Example, retreating in a diſorderly manner; but were ſo cloſely purſu'd by *Cromwell*, that many of their Foot threw

And defeats them at *Preſton*, and other Places.

threw down their Arms, and yielded themſelves Priſoners, and many were ſlain. Several principal Officers of their Foot were likewiſe taken, with all their Artillery, Ammunition and Baggage. Many of their Horſe fled towards *Lancaſter*, and were purſu'd near ten Miles with great Execution. 1648.

The Duke march'd away in the Night, with about eight thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe; and *Cromwell* follow'd him with about three thouſand Foot and two thouſand five hundred Horſe and Dragoons, killing and taking ſeveral in the way; but by that time the reſt of his Army was come up, the Duke recover'd *Wiggan*, before they could attempt any thing upon them. All that Night they lay in the Field, dirty and weary, and had ſome skirmiſhing with the Enemy, who the next Morning march'd towards *Warrington*, and made a Stand at a Paſs, which for many Hours was diſputed with great Reſolution on both Sides: But at length *Cromwell* beat them from their ſtanding, kill'd about one thouſand of them, and took about two thouſand Priſoners. He purſu'd them home to *Warrington* Town, where they poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Bridge; but *Cromwell* coming thither, Lieutenant-General *Bayly* deſir'd to capitulate, and had no other Terms given him than, *That he ſhould ſurrender himſelf and all his Officers and Soldiers Priſoners of War, with all his Arms, Ammunition*, &c. which was accordingly done; and here were taken four thouſand compleat Arms and as many Priſoners, and the Duke's Infantry was totally ruin'd; who with his remaining Horſe march'd towards *Nantwich*, where the Gentlemen of the Country took about five hundred of them, and kill'd

1648. ſeveral; and *Cromwell* ſent Poſt to the Lord *Grey*, Sir *H. Cholmeley*, and Sir *Ed. Roade*, to gather all together with ſpeed for the Purſuit of the Enemy. And ſo Duke *Hamilton* being preſs'd upon by the Country, fled at laſt to *Uxeter* in *Staffordſhire*; where, with about three thouſand Horſe which he had with him, he was taken, and ſent Priſoner to *Windſor-Caſtle*. Thus the whole *Scotch* Army, which had occaſion'd ſo much Terror, was routed and defeated; and what is moſt remarkable, is, that all this great Victory was obtain'd by *Cromwell*, with an Army amounting to ſcarce above a third Part of the *Scots* in Number, if they had been all together; the Conduct of this General, and the Goodneſs of his Troops, making amends for the ſmallneſs of the Number, which was not diminiſh'd half a hundred in gaining this Victory, after the *Engliſh* under *Langdale* had been beaten. And tho' indeed the Circumſtances of this Victory are variouſly related by Hiſtorians, yet all agree in attributing the Honour of it to *Cromwell*. All the Enemy's Cannon and Baggage was taken, with their Colours; and only ſome of their Horſe, which had been quarter'd moſt backward, made haſte to carry News to their Country, of the ill Succeſs of their Arms. They who did not take the Way for *Scotland*, were, for the moſt part, taken by the Activity of the Country, or the Horſe that purſu'd them. And Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, after he had made his way with ſome of his Men, who continu'd with him till they found it ſafeſt to diſperſe themſelves, was diſcover'd; and being taken Priſoner was convey'd to the Caſtle of *Nottingham*, from whence, afterwards he had the good Fortune to eſcape.

Lieu-

Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* having thus defeated the *Scots* under Duke *Hamilton*, resolv'd to profecute the Advantage, by marching with all poſſible Speed againſt *Monroe*, who was come into *England*, as a Reſerve to the Duke, with above ſix thouſand Horſe and Foot, and had march'd almoſt to the Borders of *Lancaſhire*: But having notice given him, that *Cromwell* was advancing towards him, and not thinking he ſhould be able to ſtand before him, who but juſt before, had defeated an Army ſo much exceeding his own, he made what haſte he could back into *Scotland*. 1648. Marches againſt *Monroe*.

Cromwell having thus rid the whole Nation in general of a great Fear, and eas'd the *North* in particular of that grievous Burden they groan'd under, by the Plunder and Oppreſſion of the *Scotch* Army, reſolv'd to proſecute his Victory to the utmoſt, by entering into *Scotland* it ſelf, that he might effectually root out there whatever threatned any further Diſturbance. It was generally believ'd, that the Marqueſs of *Argyle* earneſtly invited him to this Progreſs; for notwithſtanding Duke *Hamilton*'s Defeat, his Brother the Earl of *Lanrick* ſtill bore all the Sway in the Committee of Parliament, as well as in the Council; and the Troops which *Monroe* had rais'd for the Recruit of the Duke's Army, were ſtill together, which the few Forces rais'd by *Argyle* were not ſufficient to oppoſe. However, if he did not invite *Cromwell*, 'tis certain he was very glad of his coming, and made all poſſible haſte to bid him welcome at his Entrance into the Kingdom.

Cromwell with his victorious Army continuing his March towards *Scotland*, in his Way re-

1648. reduc'd *Carliſle* and *Berwick* to their former Obedience, both being deliver'd up to him on Compoſition. Being juſt ready to enter that Kingdom, he drew his Army to a Rendezvous on the Banks of the *Tweed*, and order'd Proclamation to be made at the Head of every Regiment, that none of them ſhould force from the *Scotch* People any of their Cattle or Goods, upon Pain of Death; but that in all Things they ſhould behave themſelves civilly in their March and Quarters, giving no Offence to any.

Reduces *Carliſle* and *Berwick*.

As he enter'd *Scotland*, he declar'd, "That he "came with his Army to free the Kingdom "from a Force, which it was under from ma- "lignant Men, who had forc'd the Nation to "break the Friendſhip with their Brethren of "*England*, who had been ſo faithful to them: "That it having pleas'd God to defeat the Ar- "my under Duke *Hamilton*, who endeavour'd "to engage the Nations in each others Blood, "he was come thither to prevent any further "Miſchief, and to remove thoſe from Autho- "rity who had us'd their Power ſo ill; and "that he hop'd he ſhould in very few Days, "return with an Aſſurance of the Brotherly "Affection of that Kingdom to the Parliament "of *England*, which did not deſire in any De- "gree to invade their Liberties, or infringe "their Privileges." Upon this the Earl of *Lanrick*, and all the *Hamiltonian* Party withdrew from *Edinburgh*; and they who continu'd there were reſolv'd to comply with *Argyle*, who they now ſaw could protect them.

Enters *Scotland* and publiſhes a Declaration.

Cromwell march'd directly for *Edinburgh*, and in his Way was met by many of the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry from the Committee of Eſtates, with congratulatory Orations in Honour of his worthy Atchievements; acknowledging that

Marches to *Edinburgh*.

that his Preſence would conduce much to the compoſing of the Diſtractions of the Kingdom. Being thus conducted to *Edinburgh* by the Marquis of *Argyle*, and the reſt that came to meet him, he was receiv'd there with all Solemnity, and the Reſpect due to the Deliverer of their Country. His Army was quarter'd about, and ſupply'd with all Proviſions the Country could afford; and himſelf was lodg'd in the Earl of *Murrey*'s Houſe, where reſorted to him the Lord Chancellor, with many others of the Nobility and Gentry. The Lord Provoſt, with ſeveral eminent Citizens, came likewiſe to welcome him thither, and preſent their Service to him. Thus the *Scotch Presbyterians*, who lately look'd upon the *Independent* Party, as the worſt of their Enemies, now own'd and embrac'd this *Sectarian* Army (as they before call'd it) as their beſt Friends and Deliverers. 1648. His Reception there.

Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, had not been long at *Edinburgh*, before he demanded of the Committee of Eſtates, that they would ſeclude from all publick Truſts, all who had any hand in, or did in the leaſt promote Duke *Hamilton*'s late Invaſion: To which the Committee gave a ſatisfactory Anſwer. Several other Demands were likewiſe made by him, with which the Committee comply'd; and he reſerv'd Liberty for the Parliament of *England*, to make ſuch further Demands, as they ſhould think requiſite. Whilſt he ſtaid with them, the Committee ſent an Order and Command to *Monroe* to disband his Troops; which when he ſeem'd reſolv'd not to do, he ſoon perceiv'd, that *Cromwell* muſt be Arbitrator; and thereupon he very punctually obey'd the Orders of the Committee. He diſpoſſeſſes the *Hamiltonians*.

Crom-

1648. *Cromwell* having thus finish'd what he came about, began to prepare for his return to *England*; but before he left them, the Committee fearing some new Disturbance might arise after the Departure of the *English* Army, requested him, that he would leave some Forces with them, which might be ready to suppress any Insurrections; promising, that when they had rais'd a sufficient Force for their own Defence, they would dismiss them, and send them back into their own Country. To this *Cromwell* readily yielded, and appointed Major-General *Lambert*, with three Regiments of Horse, for the said Service.

He is requested to leave some Forces behind him.

Matters having been thus concerted to the Satisfaction of both Parties, the *Scots* invited *Cromwell* and the chief Officers of his Army to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, whither they were all convey'd in Coaches, and were magnificently treated at a Banquet prepar'd for them; and at their Departure, they were saluted by all the Cannon of the Castle, and many Vollies of small Shot. On the 16th of *October*, *Cromwell* left *Edinburgh*, being conducted several Miles on his way by the Marquess of *Argyle* and many others of the *Scotch* Nobility; and at their parting, great Demonstrations of Affection pass'd betwixt them. Soon after, the Committee of Estates sent Letters to the Parliament of *England*, acknowledging, "That "they were sensible of the Benefit to *Scot-* "*land*, against the Enemies of both Nations, "by the coming thither of the Forces under "Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, and Major-Ge- "neral *Lambert*; and that the Deportment "of the Officers and Soldiers had been so fair "and civil, that they trusted by their Carri- "age the Malignants would be much con- "vinc'd

Is magnificently treated.

And returns for *England*.

"vinc'd and diſappointed, and the Amity of both Kingdoms ſtrengthen'd and confirm'd; which they, on their Part, ſhould likewiſe ſtudy to preſerve." 1648.

Cromwell arriving at *Newcaſtle* with his Army, was nobly treated there, and welcom'd with great Guns, ringing of Bells, and other Rejoycings. From hence he bends his Courſe directly to *Carliſle*, having firſt order'd ſome Forces for ſtrengthening the Siege of *Pontefract* or *Pomfret-Caſtle*. This Place, tho' not very great, was very conſiderable for its Strength, but moſt remarkable for the Valour of thoſe who defended it, whereby it became famous at this Time all over the Kingdom. The Garriſon conſiſted of about four hundred Foot, and a Hundred and thirty Horſe, all bold and reſolute Men, as appear'd by their Actions. One time a Party of Horſe iſſuing out of the Caſtle, took Sir *Arthur Ingram*, and carrying him in, oblig'd him to pay one thouſand five hundred Pounds for his Ranſom, before he could get out again. At another time Captain *Clayton* and moſt of his Troops were ſeiz'd upon by them, and made Priſoners. They likewiſe fetch'd two hundred Head of Cattle, with many Horſes, into the Caſtle, whilſt Sir *Henry Cholmly* lay before it with his Forces, to keep them in. But the boldeſt Action of all was this: One Morning before Day, there ſallied out about forty Horſe, who haſten'd away to *Doncaſter*, where Colonel *Rainsborough*, who had a Commiſſion to command in chief before the Caſtle, than quarter'd. Being come near the Town, three of the Party leaving their Companions without, with great Confidence march'd in, and enquir'd for Colonel *Rainsborough*'s Quarters; which being inform'd

Arrives at *New-Caſtle*, and ſends to re-inforce the Siege of *Pomfret*.

1648. inform'd of, they enter'd, pretending they came to deliver a Letter to him from Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*. When they came to him, being in Bed, they told him he was their Priſoner; but upon his Refuſal to go ſilently with them, they run him thro' with their Swords, ſo that he immediately expir'd. And altho' his Forces then kept Guard in the Town, theſe bold Fellows, with all their gallant Party, got back into the Caſtle in the middle of the Day.

Comes thither himſelf, and leaving *Lambert* before it, marches for *London*.

To repreſs theſe inſolent Proceedings, *Cromwell* immediately after he had ſettled the reſt of the Northern Parts in Peace and quietneſs, came to the Leaguer himſelf; and having order'd the ſeveral Poſts for a cloſe Siege, which put a Stop to their thus ranging abroad, he left Major-General *Lambert*, who was juſt come out of *Scotland*, with a ſtrong Party before it, to compleat the Work, whilſt himſelf took his March directly for *London*.

CHAP. IX.

From the ſecond civil War, to the King's Death.

BEFORE we proſecute our Relation of the Proceedings of *Cromwell* and the Army, from his Return out of *Scotland*, to the King's Death, it will be neceſſary to look a little back, and ſee how Matters were carried in the Parliament.

Proceedings in the Parliament.

Soon after the Army was remov'd from *London*, by reaſon of the late Inſurrections, thoſe of

of the ſecluded Members who were in *England*, ventur'd to return to their former Seats, and the Presbyterians began to prevail again in the Houſe; and *Cromwell* and the other Officers who were Members of the Houſe, had not been long abſent, before the Common-Council of the City, thought fit to preſent a Petition to the Parliament for a perſonal Treaty with the King, as the only way to reſtore the Nation to a happy Peace. This appear'd ſo much to be the Senſe of the City, that the Parliament durſt not poſitively reject it; and indeed the greateſt Part of them did at this time very much deſire the ſame Thing. Hereupon Sir *Henry Vane*, with the reſt of the Army-Party in the Houſe, were forc'd to contrive ſome ſpecious way to delay it, by ſeeming to conſent to it. And ſo a Committee of the Commons being appointed to confer with a Committee of the City, about Means to provide for the King's Safety during the Time of the Treaty, the former perplex'd the other with various Queſtions, to which they knew there could be no Anſwer given without firſt calling another Common-Council to receive further Inſtructions. By this Device, and by ſtarting new Queſtions at every Meeting, much Time was ſpent, and the deſir'd Delays obtain'd. However, the Parliament at laſt declar'd, "That they would enter into a "perſonal Treaty with his Majeſty for ſettling "the Peace of the Kingdom; and that the "Treaty ſhould be in the Iſle of *Wight*, "where his Majeſty ſhould enjoy Honour, "Freedom and Safety." And Commiſſioners were ſent from both Houſes to inform the King, "That the Parliament deſir'd a Treaty "with his Majeſty upon the Propoſitions ten-

1648.

They reſolve upon a perſonal Treaty with the King.

"der'd

1648. "der'd to him at *Hampton-Court*, and ſuch "others as ſhould be preſented to him."

They were no ſooner return'd from the Iſle of *Wight* with the King's Anſwer, but the Parliament had notice of the Defeat of the *Scotch* Army; and *Cromwell* had written to his Friends, "That it would be ſuch a perpetual "Ignominy to the Parliament, that no body "abroad or at home would ever give Credit "to them, if they ſhould recede from their "former Vote and Declaration of no more Ad-"dreſſes to the King; conjuring them to con-"tinue firm in that Reſolution." But the Parliament had made too great a Step to go back from what they were now upon; and ſince the firſt Motion for a Treaty, many abſent Members reſorted to the Houſe and promoted the Deſign; ſo that they were much more numerous than thoſe who labour'd to obſtruct it: And ſo, notwithſtanding all Oppoſition, it was declar'd, "That the Votes of No-Addreſſes "ſhould ſtand repeal'd; that the Treaty ſhould "be at *Newport*; and that his Majeſty ſhould "be there with the ſame Freedom, as when "he was at *Hampton-Court*; that the Inſtruc-"tions given to Colonel *Hammond*, for the "more ſtrict confining him, ſhould be recall'd; "and that all whom the King had nam'd, "ſhould have Liberty to repair to him, and re-"main with him undiſturb'd.' Then they nominated five Lords and ten of the Houſe of Commons to be their Commiſſioners to treat with the King, and order'd them to haſten the Treaty with all poſſible Expedition: But Sir *Henry Vane* being one of them, us'd all his Arts to delay it, as he had done before with the Parliament, in hopes that *Cromwell* would finiſh Matters in *Scotland* time enough to return,

Cromwell writes to his Friends againſt it.

Votes of No-Addreſſes repeal'd.

turn, and to uſe more effectual Means to obſtruct it, than he was furniſh'd with. *Cromwell* was very well appriz'd of theſe Proceedings, which made him think that his Preſence at the Parliament was ſo neceſſary to reſtrain the Presbyterians, who ceas'd not to vex him at any Diſtance, that he would not be prevail'd with to tarry and finiſh that only difficult Work which remain'd, *viz.* the reducing of *Pomfret-Caſtle*, but leaving it to *Lambert*, continu'd his March for *London*; as before related. 1648.

What haſtned *Cromwell*'s return to *London*.

Forty Days were appointed for the Treaty; which being expir'd, and all Men thinking the Treaty was ended, the Commiſſioners receiv'd new Orders and Inſtructions to enlarge it fourteen Days longer, and after that to continue it four Days more, and laſt of all one Day more: After which the Commiſſioners return'd; and whilſt their Report was under Conſideration in the Houſe, the large Remonſtrance of the Army was brought from the Head-Quarters, which was now at *Windſor*, to the Houſe of Commons; in which they deſir'd, "That "the Parliament would lay aſide all further "Proceedings in this Treaty, and return to "their Vote of No-Addreſſes; that the King "might come no more to Government, but be "brought to juſtice, as the capital Cauſe of all "the Evils in the Kingdom; that a Day might "be ſet for the Prince and Duke of *York*, to "apppear and anſwer to ſuch Things as might "be laid to their Charge; and if they fail'd here-"in, they might be declar'd Traitors: That "an End might be put to this Parliament, "and a new Repreſentative of the People cho-"ſen, for the governing and preſerving the "whole Body of the Nation: That no King

The Army preſent their large Remonſtrance to the Houſe

"might

1648. " might be hereafter admitted, but upon E-
" lection of, and in Truſt for the People, *&c.*"
In Concluſion, " They preſs theſe things, as
" good for this and other Kingdoms, and hope
" it will not be taken ill, becauſe from an Ar-
" my, and ſo Servants, when their Maſters are
" Servants, and Truſtees for the Kingdom."

Great Conteſts between the Parliament and Army.

This Remonſtrance put the Houſe into a great Confuſion; but that which occaſion'd the greateſt Conſternation, was the News from the Iſle of *Wight*, that *Hammond* was diſcharg'd, and Colonel *Ewer* had carried away the King to *Hurſt-Caſtle*. Upon this, the Houſe, which was then in the Heat of the Debate upon the King's Anſwer, immediately deſiſted, and voted, " That the carrying the King to *Hurſt-*
" *Caſtle* was without their Advice and Con-
" ſent;" and ſent a Letter to the General,
" That the Orders and Inſtructions to Colonel
" *Ewer* were contrary to thoſe given to Colo-
" nel *Hammond*; and therefore it was the Plea-
" ſure of the Houſe, that he ſhould recal thoſe
" Orders, and that Colonel *Hammond* ſhould a-
" gain reſume the Care of the King's Perſon."
But the General in return, demanded the Arrears due to the Army; and declared, That unleſs there were preſent Money ſent for that Purpoſe, he ſhould be oblig'd to remove the Army nearer to *London*. At the ſame time the Army ſent a new Declaration to the Houſe, in purſuance of their late Remonſtrance; which the Houſe refus'd to take into Conſideration; and ſome reſolute Members mov'd, " That the
" Army might be declar'd Traitors, if they
" preſum'd to march nearer *London* than they
" were at preſent; and that an Impeachment
" of High-Treaſon might be drawn up againſt the
" principal Officers of it." Hereupon the Ge-

neral

neral march'd directly to *London*, and quarter'd at *Whitehall*; and other Officers with their Troops in *Durham-Houſe*, the *Meuſe*, *Covent-Garden*, and St. *James*'s; and to ſupply the preſent Neceſſity, and prevent all Inconveniencies, they ſent to the City for Forty Thouſand Pounds to be iſſued out without delay for the Army. 1648. The Army marches to *London*.

Notwithſtanding all this, the Party in the Houſe who were Friends to the Treaty, reſolv'd ſtill to exert themſelves; upon which there follow'd a violent ſtruggle between them and thoſe on the contrary ſide, which continu'd a whole Day and Night together: And about five in the Morning, *Decemb.* 5. they firſt put the Queſtion, *Whether the Queſtion ſhould be put*, and carry'd it by a Hundred and Forty Voices againſt a Hundred and Four; ſo that they paſs'd the grand Queſtion, and voted without dividing, *That his Majeſty's Conceſſions to the Propoſitions upon the Treaty, were ſufficient Grounds for the Parliament to proceed upon for the Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom.* And to prevent any After-claps, they appointed a Committee to confer with the General, for the better procuring a good Intelligence and Correſpondence between the Army and the Parliament; and then adjourn'd till the next Morning. Notwithſtanding which the Commons vote the King's Conceſſions to be a ſufficient Ground for Peace.

The Officers and Army finding the Parliament thus reſolute in oppoſing their Deſigns, and that their coming into the City was not a ſufficient Check upon them, reſolv'd now to exert themſelves to purpoſe. Accordingly ſome Regiments of Horſe and Foot being ſent to *Weſtminſter*, they ſet Guards upon all the Avenues to the Parliament-Houſe, and ſeiz'd upon one and forty of the Members, as they Upon which the Army ſeiſes on ſeveral Members, and purges the Houſe.

1648. were entering. And as they made Priſoners of theſe, ſo about a Hundred more were deny'd Entrance into the Houſe; whereupon the reſt of the Presbyterian Party being ſomewhat diſmay'd at the Treatment of their Fellow-Members, declin'd coming to the Houſe, leaving it to the Poſſeſſion of about a hundred and fifty; who being for the moſt part Officers of the Army, were diſpos'd to do every thing according to the Direction of their Leaders.

The Army having thus purg'd the Houſe from all they either knew or ſuſpected to be Enemies to their Deſigns, Lieutenant-Colonel *Axtel* came in, and preſented to the remaining Members the Propoſals of the Army, ſetting forth, "That they had for a long while ſadly beheld and taſted in their Proceedings, "the miſerable Effects of Counſels divided and "corrupted by Faction, and perſonal Intereſt; "and deſiring, that all faithful Members would "acquit themſelves by a Proteſtation of their "not concurring in the late Proceedings, and "would then ſpeedily and vigorouſly proceed "to take Order for the Execution of Juſtice."

Cromwell arrives, and receives the Thanks of the Houſe

The Night after this Interruption was given to the Houſe, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* arriv'd in Town, and lay at *White-Hall*; and the next Day taking his Place in Parliament, he had the hearty Thanks of the Houſe given him for his great and faithful Services perform'd for the Nation; which he receiv'd with the greateſt Appearance of Humility (as he was us'd to do) not taking to himſelf the leaſt of all thoſe great Things perform'd by him, but aſcribing them wholly to God, the Giver of all Victory.

Cromwell

Cromwell, tho' abſent, is ſuppos'd by moſt Writers to have influenc'd in all the late Proceedings, and to be the chief Promoter of them. 'Tis ſaid, that at the Leaguer before *Pomfret*, he induc'd all the Regiments under him to Petition againſt the Treaty, and for Juſtice on the King; that 'twas by his Advice and Direction that the Remonſtrance of the Army was drawn up and preſented to the Houſe; and ſome ſay, that 'twas he that ſent Colonel *Ewer* to remove the King to *Hurſt-Caſtle*. 'Tis certain, that both he and his Son-in-law *Ireton* had a very great Influence upon the General, and could manage him almoſt in every Thing as they pleas'd. However it was, *Cromwell* upon his Arrival, declar'd at *White-Hall* and other Places, *That he had not been acquainted with the Deſign* (of the Army's interrupting the Houſe); *yet ſince it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it.* 1648. He is ſuppos'd to have the chief hand in the late proceedings.

The Remnant of the Houſe of Commons immediately renew'd their Votes of *Non-Addreſſes* to the King, and annull'd all thoſe that introduc'd and ſucceeded the Treaty; and particularly reſolv'd, *That the King's Anſwer to their Propoſitions was not ſatisfactory.* Soon after, it was mov'd in the Houſe, to proceed capitally againſt the King, when *Cromwell* ſtood up and declar'd, "That if any Man "mov'd this upon Deſign, he ſhould think "him the greateſt Traitor in the World; "but ſince Providence and Neceſſity had caſt "them upon it, he ſhould pray God to bleſs "their Counſels, tho' he was not provided on "the ſudden to give them Counſel." On *December* 16th, a Party of Horſe was ſent over to *Hurſt-Caſtle*, to bring the King to *Windſor*. Votes of Non-Addreſſes reſum'd. *Cromwell's* Speech upon the Motion for trying the King. The King brought to *Windſor*.

1648. *for*; who lay at *Farnham* on the 22d, and was deliver'd up at *Windsor-Castle* the Day following, Colonel *Harrison* commanding the Guards about him. Soon after, the Council of War order'd, *That nothing should be done upon the Knee to the King; that all Ceremonies of State us'd to him should be left off, and his Attendance should be with fewer Persons and at less Charge.*

Ordinance for trying him.

Next Day the Committee of the Commons, which had been appointed to draw up a Charge against the King, reported an Ordinance *for impeaching* Charles Stuart *King* of England *of High-Treason; and for trying him by Commissioners to be nominated in the said Ordinance*; which being agreed to by the Commons, was on *January* 2d, carry'd up to the Lords for their Concurrence. But upon their rejecting it, the Commons pass'd these remarkable Votes; First, *That the People are, under God, the Original of all just Power:* Secondly, *That the Commons of* England, *being chosen by, and representing the People, are the supreme Power of the Nation:* Thirdly, *That whatsoever is enacted or declar'd for Law, by the House of Commons assembled in Parliament, hath the Force of Law, tho' the Consent of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto.*

High-Court of Justice erected.

Then they proceeded to constitute and erect a Court, to be call'd *the High-Court of Justice*, which should have Authority to try the King, and to examine Witnesses for that Purpose. The Number of the Commissioners nominated were a hundred and thirty five, whereof twenty or more had Power to proceed. They consisted promiscuously of Members of the House, Officers of the Army, Citizens and Country Gentlemen. About fifty that were nam'd

nam'd, refus'd to act, of which Number were the Speaker *Lenthal*, and General *Fairfax*. Of those who acted, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, and Commissary-General *Ireton* were next the President. The Commissioners made choice of Serjeant *Bradshaw* for that Office, and nominated Mr. *Steel* to be Attorney-General, Mr. *Cook* Sollicitor, Dr. *Dorislaus* and Mr. *Ask* to be Pleaders against the King; and *Westminster-Hall* was appointed to be the Place of Trial: In order to which solemn Transaction, the King was brought from *Windsor* to St. *James*'s by Colonel *Harrison*. 1648.

The King remov'd from *Windsor* to St. *James*'s

On the Way *Harrison* observ'd, that the King was under an Apprehension of a fix'd Purpose to murder him; and that he let fall some Words *of the Odiousness and Wickedness of such an Assassination, which could never be safe to the Person who undertook it*: Whereupon he took Occasion to assure him, *That he needed not to entertain any such Imagination; that the Parliament had too much Honour and Justice to cherish so foul an Intention; that whatever the Parliament resolv'd to do would be very publick, and in a way of Justice, to which the World should be Witness; and that they would never endure a Thought of secret Violence.* But his Majesty could not believe him; nor did he imagine they would ever venture to proceed against him in the Way of a publick Tryal, before all the People.

All the King's Friends both at home and abroad now gave him for lost; and yet they did not neglect to make their utmost Efforts to save him. The States-General order'd their Ambassador to represent to the Parliament, that the Course they were going to take with the King, would be a lasting Reproach to the

Endeavours to save him.

1648. Proteſtant Intereſt. The Prince of *Wales*, and Prince of *Orange*, daily ſent, as Agents, the Kindred and Relations of *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and other Judges appointed to try his Majeſty, with Commiſſion to offer any thing, and to make any Promiſes to ſave his Life, or at leaſt to put off the Judgment: And the Prince wrote a very pathetical Letter to General *Fairfax*, in his Father's behalf. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marqueſs of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Lindſey* and *Southampton*, generouſly offer'd their own Heads to ſave the King's, and would have undertook to ſuffer in his ſtead for whatever he had done amiſs. Almoſt all the Presbyterian Miniſters in the City, and very many out of the Country, and ſome even of the Independents, declar'd againſt the Deſign in their Sermons, in Petitions, Proteſtations, and publick Remonſtrances. And the *Scots* at the ſame Time ſent Commiſſioners in great haſte, to declare and proteſt againſt this unheard-of Attempt.

Conference between *Cromwell* and the *Scotch* Commiſſioners about him.

Theſe Commiſſioners, as Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, came alſo to *Cromwell* to argue the Matter with him. They highly blam'd indeed many of the King's Actions, and in a heavy languid Style charg'd him with very great Crimes: But ſtill they inſiſted on that Clauſe in the Covenant, whereby they ſolemnly ſwore they would be faithful in the Preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon: Upon which they obſerv'd, on what Conditions *Scotland*, as well as the Parliament of *England*, had engag'd in the War; and what ſolemn Declarations of their Zeal and Duty to his Majeſty they had all along made; which would now be found, to the Scandal and Reproach of the Chriſtian Name, to have been falſe Pretences, if now the King

King was in their Hands, they ſhould proceed to Extremities. Hereupon *Cromwell* held a long Diſcourſe with them concerning the Nature of the regal Power; and declar'd 'twas his Opinion, that a Breach of Truſt in a King, deſerv'd greater Puniſhment than any other Crime. And then, as to their Covenant, he ſaid, they ſwore to preſerve the King's Perſon in Defence of the true Religion; ſo that if it was manifeſt, that the Eſtabliſhing of the true Religion was hinder'd by the King, ſo that it could not be effected without removing him, then their Oath could not oblige them to the preſerving him any longer. He further ſaid, they were bound by their Covenant to bring all Malignants, Incendiaries, and Enemies to the Cauſe, to condign Puniſhment; and was not this to be executed impartially? What were all thoſe on whom publick Juſtice had taken place, eſpecially thoſe who ſuffer'd for joining with *Montroſs*, but ſmall Offenders, who had acted by Commiſſion from the King, who was therefore the Principal, and ſo the moſt guilty? Thus *Cromwell* had manifeſtly the better of them at their own Weapon, and upon their own Principles. 1648.

All Endeavours being ineffectual and the Court having finiſh'd all the neceſſary Preparations, the King's Trial began on *Saturday* the 20th of *January*. The Subſtance of the Charge againſt him was, 'That he had endeavour'd to "ſet up a tyrannical Power, and to that end "had rais'd and maintain'd in the Land a "cruel War againſt the Parliament; whereby "the Country had been miſerably waſted, the "publick Treaſure exhauſted, Thouſands of "People had loſt their Lives, and inumerable "other Miſchiefs committed." The Commiſſi- Trial of the King.

1648. oners for trying him being met in *Weſtminſter-Hall* on the foreſaid Day, the Court order'd the Serjeant at Arms to ſend for their Priſoner from Sir *Robert Cotton*'s Houſe, whither he had been remov'd; who accordingly was brought up in the Face of the Court by Colonel *Tomlinſon*, under a ſtrong Guard, and deliver'd to the Serjeant at Arms, who conducted him to the Bar, where a Crimſon Velvet Chair was plac'd for him. Having heard his Charge read, he refus'd to plead to it, either guilty or not guilty, till he ſhould know by what lawful Authority he was brought thither; and the Anſwer given not ſatisfying him, he perſiſted in that Refuſal. The ſame he did on *Monday*, *January* 22d, when he was a ſecond time brought before the Court; as alſo the next Day, being the third time. Finally, on *Jan.* 27th, the King being a fourth time brought into the Court, deſir'd, before Sentence was paſs'd againſt him, to be heard before the Lords and Commons in the *painted Chamber*; with Deſign, as 'tis thought, to have reſign'd his Crown to his Son, the Prince of *Wales*: Upon which the Judges retir'd for half an Hour to conſider of his Requeſt; and then returning they order'd the King to be brought again to the Bar; when the Preſident told him, that what he propos'd was but a further Denial of the Juriſdiction of the Court, and tended to the Delay of Juſtice; and if he had no more to ſay, they would proceed to Judgment. And the King anſwering, he had no more to ſay, *Bradſhaw* made a long Harangue in Vindication of the Parliamnet's Proceedings, grounding his Diſcourſe moſtly on this Principle, *That the People have the ſupreme Power, and the Houſe of Commons is the People.* This Speech

Speech being ended, and the Charge again recited, Sentence was pronounced in theſe Words; *For all which Treaſons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, that the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and publick Enemy, ſhall be put to death, by the ſevering his Head from his Body.* 1648. He is condemn'd.

Tho' the King was condemn'd, and there appear'd no Hope of ſaving his Life, yet ſtill Endeavours were not wanting for that Purpoſe. Particularly we are told, that Colonel *John Cromwell*, a near Relation of the great *Oliver*, came to Town about this Time, with credential Letters from the States of *Holland*, whereto was added a Blank, with the King's Signet, and another of the Prince's, both confirm'd by the States, for *Cromwell* to ſet down his own Conditions, if he would now ſave his Majeſty's Life. The Colonel went directly to his Kinſman's Houſe, who was ſo retir'd and ſhut up in his Chamber, with an Order to let none know he was at home, that 'twas with much Difficulty he obtain'd Admittance, after he had told who he was. Having mutually ſaluted each other, the Colonel deſir'd to ſpeak a few Words with him in private; and began with much Freedom to ſet before him the Heinouſneſs of the Fact, then about to be committed, and with what Deteſtation 'twas look'd upon abroad, telling him, *That of all Men living, he could never have imagin'd, he would have had any Hand in it, who in his hearing had proteſted ſo much for the King.* To this *Cromwell* anſwer'd, *It was not he but the Army; and tho' he did once ſay ſome ſuch Words, yet now Times were alter'd, and Providence ſeem'd to order Things otherwiſe.* And 'tis ſaid, he added, *That he had pray'd and faſt-* *Cromwell's* Kinſman ſent to him, in behalf of the King.

1648. *fasted for the King, but no Return that Way was yet made to him.* Upon this, the Colonel step'd a little back, and suddenly shut the Door, which made *Cromwell* apprehend he was going to be assassinated; but the other pulling out his Papers, said to him, *Cousin, this is no time to trifle with Words: See here, it is now in your own Power not only to make your self, but your Family, Relations and Posterity, happy and honourable for ever; otherwise, as they have chang'd their Name before from* Williams *to* Cromwell, *so now they must be forc'd to change it again; for this Fact will bring such an Ignominy upon the whole Generation of them, that no Time will be able to deface.* At this *Cromwell* paus'd a little, and then said, *Cousin, I desire you would give me till Night to consider of it, and do you go to your Inn, and not to Bed, till you hear from me.* The Colonel did accordingly, and about one in the Morning a Messenger came to tell him, *He might go to rest, and expect no other Answer to carry to the Prince; for the Council of Officers had been* seeking God, (a Phrase, it seems, very much in Use at that Time) *as he also had done the same, and it was resolv'd by them all that the King must die.*

A Committee was appointed by the High-Court of Justice to inspect the Parts about *White-Hall* for a convenient Place for the King's Execution: Having made their Report, it was determin'd, that a Scaffold should be made near the Banqueting-House for that Purpose; and 'twas order'd to be cover'd with black. The same Day, *Jan.* 29th, about threescore of the Commissioners sign'd a Warrant for the King's Execution, directing it to Colonel *Hacker*, Colonel *Hunks* and Colonel *Phayer*, or either of them.

them. *Cromwell*'s Name ſtood the third in this Warrant, *Bradſhaw* and Lord *Grey* of *Groby* only ſtanding before him. The ſame Day the King's Children waited on him to take their leave of him. An extraordinary Ambaſſador from the States had his Audience in the Houſe of Commons; whoſe Errand was to intercede with them for the King's Life, and to maintain a good Correſpondence between *England* and the united Provinces. 1648.

The Execution of the King.

The next Day, being the 30th of *January*, about eight a Clock in the Morning, his Majeſty was with a Guard brought from St. *James*'s thro' the Park to *White-Hall*; where having ſtaid about two Hours in a private Room, he was led to the Scaffold out of a Window of the Banquetting-Houſe: And having made a Speech, and taken off his *George*, he kneel'd down at the Block, and the Executioner at one blow ſever'd his Head from his Body.

His Behaviour and Character.

In all his Sufferings, he ſhew'd a calm and compos'd Firmneſs, which amaz'd all People; and the rather, becauſe 'twas not natural to him. He had many Indignities offer'd to him, eſpecially during his Trial; but he bore them all with a true Greatneſs of Mind, without Diſorder or any kind of Affectation. Thus, as Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, he died greater than he had lived, and ſhew'd that which has been often remarked of the whole Family of the *Stuarts*, that they bore Misfortunes better than Proſperity. He was a Prince of great Devotion and Piety, remarkable for his Temperance and Chaſtity, and an utter Enemy to all Kind of Debauchery; and if he had any perſonal Faults, they were much overweigh'd by his Virtues. Happy were it for him, if his Government had been as free from Blame. The

Rock

1648. Rock on which he ſplit, was an immoderate Deſire of Power, beyond what the Conſtitution allow'd. His Reign both in Peace and War, was a continual Series of Errors: He was out of Meaſure bent on following his Humour; but unreaſonably feeble to thoſe whom he truſted, eſpecially the Queen. His Friends regretted the Aſcendant ſhe had over him on many Occaſions; and others tax'd him with the Character of an uxorious Husband. He had certainly a fix'd Averſion to Popery; but was much inclin'd to a middle Way between Proteſtants and Papiſts; whereby he loſt the one without gaining the other. In ſhort, his whole Conduct was ſuch, as verify'd this Maxim, *That Errors in Government, have ruin'd more Princes than perſonal Vices.*

How far his Death is to be imputed to *Cromwell.*

Thus have we got over this dark Scene, in which our Lieutenant-General is commonly ſuppos'd to be chiefly concern'd. But as 'tis not ſtrange he ſhould, if the Story of the King's dealing deceitfully with him be true; ſo it may more reaſonably be concluded, his Son-in-law *Ireton*, rather than he, was the Perſon who chiefly influenc'd in theſe Proceedings. I know *Ireton* is ſuppos'd all along to have acted by *Cromwell*'s Directions; but whether he did or no, may, I think, in many Caſes be juſtly queſtion'd. *Ireton* was certainly a zealous Common-wealth's-Man, which Party were always averſe to any Treaty with the King; and tho' he with *Cromwell* was in ſuch a Treaty, yet *Ludlow* thinks he never really intended to cloſe with the King; but only to lay his Party aſleep, whilſt they were conteſting with the Presbyterian Intereſt in Parliament; but he ſays no ſuch Thing of *Cromwell*, whom he ſeems all along to be angry with, for his Deſign of making an Agreement

Agreement with the King, being himſelf ut- 1648.
terly averſe to it, and ſuppoſing *Cromwell*'s
main End was to gratify his own Ambition;
which is not unlikely; and yet he might have
been in earneſt in the Treaty, and alſo have
deſign'd the publick Good. *Cromwell* was cer-
tainly no Common-wealth's-Man, tho' he was
forc'd to humour, and in many Things ac-
tually to comply with the Party; and as the
Agitators and their Offspring the Levellers,
who were no other than the Common-wealth's-
Men in the Army, and whom it is likely
Cromwell at firſt might make uſe of to bring
about ſome of his Deſigns, were the original
Contrivers and chief Actors in the King's
Death; ſo whatever Hand *Cromwell* had in it,
ſeems to be chiefly owing to their Fury and
deſperate Reſolutions, which made him appre-
henſive of the greateſt Danger, if he did not
comply with their Deſigns; tho' at the ſame time,
the Contradictions that appear'd in the King's
Conduct, might the more eaſily incline him to
join Purpoſes with them. In ſhort, what with
the Danger that threatned his Perſon, if he
had perſiſted to oppoſe the Deſigns of the Le-
vellers; what with the Enthuſiaſm, that was
ſo habitual to him; and what with the Con-
ſideration of the King's paſt Miſgovernment,
which had been the original Cauſe of all the
Evils the Nation had ſuffer'd, and the Fear
of the like happening for the future, if he
ſhould be reſtor'd; he having diſcover'd him-
ſelf to be of a very inconſtant and waver-
ing, not to ſay equivocating Temper; *Crom-
well* was at length ſo wrought upon, as to
think it neceſſary, and ſo lawful, to take off
the King; in which towards the laſt he ſeem'd
to be pretty active, tho' always in ſome doubt
about

1648. about it. We are expreſly told, he at firſt ſhew'd ſome Repugnance to ſo black an Undertaking, as our Author calls it, and ſeem'd to ſhew his Abhorrence of it, and not to ſurmount it, as he ſaid himſelf; but only becauſe he ſaw that the Providence of God and the Neceſſity of the Times, had inſpir'd the Army to make ſo terrible a Sacrifice; but that that Sacrifice, after all, was the only one that could ſave the State and Religion. And we cannot here omit what Biſhop *Burnet* ſays of this Matter: He tells us, that *Ireton* was the Perſon that drove on the King's Trial and Death, and that *Cromwell* was all the while in ſome Suſpence about it. "*Ireton*, ſays he, had "the Principles and the Temper of a *Caſſius* "in him: He ſtuck at nothing that might "have turn'd *England* to a Common-wealth; "and he found out *Cook* and *Bradſhaw*, two "bold Lawyers, as proper Inſtruments for ma- "naging it." And we are inform'd by others, that *Ireton* was the Perſon who wrought upon *Fairfax*, and manag'd the Affair of the Army's Remonſtrance, and purging the Parliament, and brought it about. To conclude, tho' we are far from pretending to juſtify the whole of *Cromwell*'s Conduct in theſe extraordinary Tranſactions; yet we cannot but think that a greater Load of Guilt and Infamy is uſually laid to his Share than he really deſerv'd.

THE

THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

PART II.

Containing an Account of his Actions and Behaviour from the Time of the KING'S *Death, to the forcible Diſſolution of the long* PARLIAMENT.

CHAP. I.

From the KING'S *Death to* Cromwell's *Arrival in* Ireland.

HAVING ſeen the Actions of this wonderful Man, during the Life of King *Charles*, let us now view him under the Common-wealth-Government: But firſt it may be proper to obſerve, how this Government was eſtabliſh'd. The firſt

1648. first Thing the Parliament (for ſo the Remnant of the Houſe of Commons now call'd themſelves) did after the King's Death, was to paſs an Act, ordaining, "That no Perſon whatſoever do preſume to proclaim, declare, publiſh, or any ways promote *Charles Stuart*, Son of the late *Charles*, commonly call'd the Prince of *Wales*, or any other Perſon, to be King or chief Magiſtrate, of *England* or *Ireland*, &c. without the free Conſent of the People in Parliament, firſt had, and ſignify'd by a particular Act or Ordinance for that Purpoſe; under pain of being adjudg'd a Traitor." Then they made another Act, "That ſuch as had aſſented to the Vote, "*That the King's Conceſſions were a Ground for* "*the Houſe to proceed to a Settlement*, ſhould not "be readmitted to ſit as Members." Theſe therefore were commonly call'd the ſecluded Members.

A Common-wealth-Government ſet up.

Soon after, *Feb.* 5. they voted *the Houſe of Peers to be uſeleſs and dangerous*, and an Act was accordingly paſs'd *for aboliſhing it*; tho' *Cromwell* is ſaid to have appeared for them. And to remove all that ſtood in the way of their deſigned Common-wealth, they reſolved and declared, "That it had been found "by Experience, that the Office of a *King* in "this Nation, was unneceſſary, burdenſom, and "dangerous to the Liberty, Safety, and "publick Intereſt of the Nation; and there-"fore it ſhould be utterly aboliſhed." Then the Form of Government was declared to be a *Common-wealth*; and a *Council of State*, was appointed, conſiſting of about forty Perſons, whereof *Cromwell* was one; to whom Power was given, to command and ſettle the Militia of *England* and *Ireland*, to order the Fleet, and ſet

ſet forth ſuch a naval Power, as they ſhould think fit; to appoint Magazines and Stores for *England* and *Ireland*, and to diſpoſe of them for the Service of both Nations, as they thought proper. And they were to ſit and execute theſe Powers for the Space of one whole Year. And now all Writs formerly running in the King's Name, were to be iſſu'd out in the Names of *the Keepers of the Liberty of* England. And a new Oath or *Engagement* was prepar'd, *to be true and faithful to the Government eſtabliſh'd, without King or Houſe of Peers*; all who refus'd to take it, to be uncapable of holding any Place or Office in Church or State. 1648.

The new Common-wealth being thus ſettled and ſecur'd, another *High-Court of Juſtice* is now erected for the Trial of Delinquents. Before this Court the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*, being brought, receiv'd Sentence of Death, for being concern'd in the late Invaſion and Inſurrections. After Judgment given, they petition'd the Commons; and ſo their Reprieve or their Execution, was put to the Vote of the Houſe; and Duke *Hamilton* and the Lord *Capel* were caſt, and Sir *John Owen* ſav'd, by a conſiderable Majority; as the Earl of *Holland* was caſt, and the Earl of *Norwich* ſav'd, by the ſingle Vote of the Speaker, the Houſe being before equally divided as to them; ſo that *Hamilton*, *Holland*, and *Capel* were ſoon after beheaded in the *Palace-Yard* at *Weſtminſter*. It muſt be remember'd here, that when the Lord *Capel*'s Petition, which his Lady deliver'd, was read in the Houſe, many ſpoke in his Favour, and ſaid, That he had never deceiv'd or betray'd them,

Another *High-Court of Juſtice.*

1648. but had always freely and resolutely declar'd for the King: And *Cromwell*, who knew him very well, spoke so many things to his Honour, and profess'd so much Respect for him, that all believ'd he was safe, till he concluded,

Cromwell's Speech against the Lord *Capel.*

" That his Affection for the Publick so out-
" weigh'd his private Friendship, that he could
" not but tell them, that the Question was
" now, *Whether they would preserve the most bitter*
" *and most implacable Enemy they had*: That
" he knew well, that the Lord *Capel* would
" be the last Man in *England*, that would a-
" bandon the royal Interest; that he had
" great Courage, Industry, and Generosity; that
" he had many Friends who would always ad-
" here to him; and that as long as he liv'd,
" what Condition soever he was in, he would
" be a Thorn in their Sides: And therefore,
" for the Good of the Common-wealth, he
" should give his Vote against the Petition."

About this time, several Things were declar'd by the Parliament to be High-Treason, and this among the rest, *viz.* For any Soldiers of the Army to contrive the Death of their General, or *Lieutenant-General*; or endeavour to raise Mutinies in the Army.

A private Story of *Cromwell* and *Ireton.*

A little before this, *Cromwell* and his Son *Ireton* went along with *Whitelock* from the Council of State, and supp'd at his House. Here they were very chearful, and seem'd extremely well pleas'd; and related many wonderful Observations of God's Providence, in the Course of the War, and in the Affair of the Army's coming to *London*, and seizing the Members of the House. Having thus discours'd together till Midnight, they return'd home, and in their Passage their Coach was stopp'd, and they were examin'd by the Guards. They

preſently told their Names; but the Captain of the Guards would not believe them, and threatned to carry theſe two great Officers to the Court of Guard. Hereupon *Ireton* grew a little angry, but *Cromwell* made himſelf merry with the Soldiers, gave them twenty Shillings, and commended them and their Captain for doing their Duty. And they afterwards confeſs'd that they knew *Cromwell* and *Ireton* well enough, and were more ſtrict with them than with others, to let them ſee they were careful of their Duty; which they believ'd theſe great Men came at that Time on purpoſe to obſerve. 1648.

Council of Agitators to be aboliſh'd, which occaſions freſh Diſturbance in the Army.

Matters being now brought to ſome Degree of Settlement, it was thought fit to aboliſh the Council of Agitators in the Army; leſt they who had been the chief Authors in all the late Changes, ſhould now take it in their Heads to carry Matters further than the preſent Rulers car'd they ſhould. But theſe Agitators had taſted too much of Power, to be willing to be ſtripp'd of it; but at the ſame Time made a wrong Computation of their own Strength by the great Things they had formerly effected, not conſidering that their ſuperior Officers were now wholly united with the Parliament, and entirely concur'd with them, in carrying on the ſame Deſigns. They preſently drew up a Petition to the Lord General *Fairfax* and his Council of Officers, againſt the Deſign of aboliſhing them; but by a Council of War, the Subſcribers of this Petition were ſentenc'd to ride with their Faces towards the Horſes Tails before the Heads of their ſeveral Regiments, with their Faults written on their Breaſts, to have their Swords broken over their Heads, and ſo to be caſhier'd the

1649. Army. Which Sentence was accordingly executed upon them in the great *Palace-Yard* at *Weſtminſter*, to the great Exaſperation of the *Levelling-Party*, who were reſolv'd not ſo to be ſuppreſs'd.

Cromwell again ſuppreſſes the Levellers.

For not long after, there being a Rendezvous at *Ware*, ſeveral Regiments, among whom was *Cromwell*'s of Horſe, in Purſuance of the foremention'd Petition, and to be diſtinguiſh'd from others, wore White in their Hats, as they had done once before. *Cromwell* having notice of the Deſign, order'd two Regiments of Horſe from diſtant Quarters, who knew nothing of this Combination, to appear there likewiſe. Being all drawn up, *Cromwell* with an angry and down Look rides round, and on a ſudden commands one of thoſe two Regiments to encompaſs a Regiment of Foot; which being done accordingly, he call'd four Men by their Names out of the Body, and with his own Hands committed them to the Marſhal; and immediately calling a Council of War, (while the reſt of their Confederates ſlunk their white Colours into their Pockets, and trembled at this Boldneſs of *Cromwell*) try'd and condemn'd them. But they had the Favour from the Court of caſting Lots for their Lives, two only to die; and the two whoſe Lot it was to die, were preſently ſhot to Death upon a green Bank by the other two in Sight of the Army. A little before, another Leveller, one *Lockyer* a Trooper, for promoting the Engagement, and Agreement, was ſhot to Death in St. *Paul*'s Church-Yard.

Notwithſtanding theſe Executions, this Humour ſtill continu'd in the Army, and began to break out with greater Violence, upon the Parliament's voting, that eleven Regiments, by Lot,

Lot, ſhould be ſent over into *Ireland*. This enrag'd them to that Degree, that, finding that inſtead of reaping the Advantages they had promis'd themſelves, they were to be expos'd to freſh Hazards, and the Miſeries of a ſtarving War, they peremptorily declar'd againſt it, as a Contrivance to divide them, and gave out, that they would not go for *Ireland*, till the Liberties of the People, for which they firſt engag'd in a War, were ſecur'd; requiring, That the often promiſed *Repreſentative* of the Nation might be choſen. And finding that Diſcourſes and Repreſentations were to no purpoſe, they began to have Recourſe to Arms. Accordingly Colonel *Scroop's* Regiment, having laid aſide their Officers, march'd with twelve Troops from their Quarters at *Salisbury*, towards *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*, in order to a Conjunction with thoſe of *Harriſon*, *Ireton*, and *Skippon*, and a Party under one *Thompſon* then lying near *Banbury*. This they had effected, if the extraordinary Diligence of *Cromwell* and *Fairfax* had not prevented them: For poſting forty Miles in one Day, they overtook them at *Abingdon*, and firſt offer'd them a Treaty, wherein Satisfaction might be mutually given; and till that were done, that neither Party might come within ten Miles of each other. Upon which Agreement, the *Levellers*, who had increas'd their Numbers to about five thouſand, march'd to *Burford*; where, while they were ſecurely reſting themſelves, and their Horſes put into the adjoining Meadows, about twelve a Clock at Night Colonel *Reynolds* fell into their Quarters, routed them, and took four hundred of them Priſoners, and nine hundred of their Horſes. *Thompſon* took Shelter in a Wood near *Milton*, where

1649.

1649. he fought manfully till he was ſlain. Of the Priſoners three only were executed, who dy'd very reſolutely. Cornet *Den* expreſſing his Grief and Sorrow, was repriev'd at the Inſtant of Execution; which his Companions beholding from the Leads of the Church, were ſaluted with a Meſſage of Decimation: But at *Cromwell*'s Deſire they were all pardon'd, and ſent home to their own Houſes. Thus was this Inſurrection quell'd on the fifteenth Day of *May*.

He with the General is treated at *Oxford*.

After this, the Lord-General *Fairfax*, and Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* viſited *Oxford*, where they were nobly treated, and made Doctors of the Civil Law; at which time alſo Sir *Hardreſs Waller* and Mr. *Ruſhworth* with eight Colonels were created Maſters of Arts. Then they viſited *Portſmouth*, from whence they return'd to *London* in Triumph, and receiv'd new Marks of Honour from the Parliament. And now to promote a laſting Union between the three Principles of Power, the Parliament, the Army, and the City, it was contriv'd, that the Speaker with the Houſe, the General with the chief Officers, and the Council of State, ſhould, after hearing two Sermons, be magnificently feaſted at *Grocers-Hall*, by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council. This was accordingly done, on the 7th of *June*; the Lord-Mayor, as 'twas uſual towards Kings, meeting *Lenthal* the Speaker, with the reſt of the Members, at *Temple-Bar*, and there reſigning the Sword to him; which having again receiv'd, he carry'd before him into the City. At this Entertainment, there was preſented by the City to the Lord-General a large and weighty Baſon and Ewer of beaten Gold; and to Lieutenant-Gene-

And at *London*.

ral

ral *Cromwell* three hundred Pounds in Plate, and two hundred Pieces in Gold. 1645.

Cromwell was now juſt entering upon a new Scene of Action, and making Preparations for the reducing of *Ireland* to the Power of the new Common-wealth: But before we deſcribe his memorable Exploits in that Kingdom, 'twill be proper to take a ſhort View of the Poſture of Affairs there for ſome Time paſt, and the Condition they were now in.

Some Account of the Affairs of *Ireland*, before *Cromwell's* going over.

The *Iriſh* Rebellion, the moſt barbarous and bloody that was ever executed in any Part of the World, in which ſo many thouſand Proteſtants were moſt inhumanly maſſacred, broke out in *October* 1641, which tho' it had been contriv'd with ſuch Secreſy, and acted with ſuch Out-rage, yet the City of *Dublin* was wonderfully preſerv'd by divine Providence, to be an *Aſylum* for ſuch as eſcap'd thither, to avoid the Fury of their bloody Perſecutors. Many of the poor Proteſtants came over alſo into *England*, hoping there to find Shelter from the mercileſs Enemy: But this prov'd little Comfort to thoſe diſtreſs'd Souls; for here they found, to the Increaſe of their Grief, that *England* was preparing on all Sides to act the ſame upon one another, which the Papiſts had done againſt them in *Ireland*. But tho' the Difference between the King and Parliament increas'd every Day; yet 'twas ſo order'd, that ſome Regiments were ſent over into *Ireland*, to ſtop the Proceedings of the Rebels. After the War had been carry'd on for ſome Time in *England*, the King finding his Affairs in a declining Condition, and that the Parliament gain'd Ground upon him, he in 1643, order'd the Marqueſs of *Ormond* to make a Truce with the *Iriſh*, that he might have the Aſſiſtance

1649. of thoſe *Engliſh* Forces that were in *Ireland*, in his War with the Parliament. A Ceſſation of Arms was accordingly agreed upon; but the *Iriſh* infamouſly broke the Articles of it: For the *Engliſh* being now gone over to *England*, they on a ſudden roſe againſt the Marqueſs, and had ſurpriz'd him, if he had not been inform'd before of their Deſign, and eſcap'd into *Dublin*: And being in no Condition to defend it, but oblig'd to deliver it up, either to the *Engliſh* ſent by the Parliament, or to the *Iriſh*, he gave it up to the *Engliſh* (who made Colonel *Jones* Governour) and came over to the King, at what Time he was carried from Place to Place by the Army.

The Marqueſs had not been long gone, but the treacherous *Iriſh* being terrify'd with the News, that the Parliament was ſending over an Army thither, requeſted the Prince, to whom the Marqueſs had repair'd, to ſend him back, engaging themſelves to ſubmit abſolutely to his Majeſty's Authority, and to obey the Marqueſs as his Lieutenant, and join with him to expel the Parliament's Forces. The Marqueſs being accordingly arriv'd, enter'd into moſt diſhonourable Articles with the *Iriſh*, who having made a Confederacy among themſelves, ſoon became more formidable by the Acceſſion of the Lord *Inchequin*, Preſident of *Munſter*, and the *Scots* in the Province of *Ulſter*. Before the Arrival of the Marqueſs, the Pope's Nuncio, who had been ſent over to promote the grand Rebellion, and had of late behav'd himſelf ſo tyrannically, that he became intolerable even to the *Iriſh* themſelves, was expell'd the Kingdom: And now the Royaliſts and *Iriſh* being united, *Ireland* ſeem'd in a fair Way of being entirely

entirely reduc'd to the King's Obedience. But *Owen Roe Oneal*, the beſt Commander among the *Iriſh*, not liking the Articles of the Confederacy, refus'd to be included in it, and joining with the Parliament's Forces, reliev'd *London-derry*, then beſieg'd by the Lord *Ardes*. *Ormond* however and the Confederates having a numerous Army, the whole Kingdom was almoſt reduc'd by them, excepting *London-derry*, govern'd by Sir *Charles Coot*, and *Dublin* the chief City, wherein was Colonel *Jones* with no very conſiderable Force, beſides that his Men were frequently deſerting their Colours. The Enemy with their formidable Army was now marching to beſiege it, and ſent many threatning Summons, requiring a ſpeedy ſurrender of the Place; which notwithſtanding, thro' the Vigilance of the Governour, held out to the Confuſion of the Beſiegers. But his preſent Difficulties, and the great Danger he was in, made him renew his Inſtances to the Parliament, in the moſt preſſing manner, for ſpeedy Supplies of Men and Proviſions; declaring, that elſe all would be loſt. Hereupon the Parliament, not inſenſible of his Condition, began to provide for the Relief of *Ireland* with all poſſible Expedition; and appointed Commiſſary-General *Ireton*, Colonel *Scroop*, Colonel *Horton*, Major-General *Lambert*, with their four Regiments of Horſe; Colonel *Ewer*, Colonel *Cook*, Colonel *Hewſon* and Colonel *Dean*, with theirs of Foot, and five Troops of Dragoons, all old Soldiers of the *Engliſh* Army, for the ſaid Service: And beſides theſe, other Regiments were rais'd by beat of Drum, to make up a ſufficient Force for effectually carrying on ſo great a Work. 1649.

The

1649. The Forces being in a great Degree of readineſs, the Parliament began now to think of a General for this Expedition; and having had ſufficient Experience of *Cromwell*'s great Abilities, and knowing no Man ſo fit for the Employment, they deſir'd him to accept of it; who not without ſome ſeeming Reluctancy at laſt undertook it, and after many humble Expreſſions of his own Unworthineſs and Diſability to ſupport ſo great a Charge, and of the entire Reſignation of himſelf to their Commands, and abſolute Dependence upon God's Providence, he acquainted them, That he ſubmitted to their good Will and Pleaſure, and deſir'd them to haſten all the neceſſary Preparations; "For he confeſs'd, that Kingdom "to be reduc'd to ſo great Streights, that he "was willing to engage his own Perſon, purely "for the Difficulties which appear'd in the "Expedition; and more out of hope to give "ſome Obſtruction to the preſent Succeſſes of "the Rebels, and to preſerve to the Common-"wealth ſome Footing in that Kingdom, than "from any Expectation that he ſhould be able, "with his Strength, in any ſignal Degree to "prevail over them."

Cromwell accepts of the *Iriſh* Service.

The Houſe was ſo well pleas'd with this Anſwer, that immediately after, on the 22d of *June*, he had a pompous Commiſſion given him in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, to Command all Forces to be ſent into *Ireland*, and to be Lord Governour both as to civil and military Affairs in that Kingdom, for three Years: And Colonel *Jones* was made Lieutenant-General of the Horſe. From the very Minute of his receiving this Charge, *Cromwell* us'd an incredible Expedition in the raiſing of Money, providing of Shipping, and drawing the Forces together

He is made Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

together for this Enterprize. The Soldiers march'd with great Speed to the Rendezvous at *Milford-Haven*, there to expect the new Lord Deputy. 1649.

Having diſpatch'd his Buſineſs with the Parliament, on the 10th of *July* he left *London*, ſetting forward in great State, being drawn in a Coach with ſix Horſes, and attended by many Members of the Parliament and Council of State, with the chief Officers of the Army; his Life-Guard conſiſting of eighty Men, who had formerly been Commanders, bravely mounted and accouter'd, both themſelves and Servants. Thus he was conducted to *Brentford*, where thoſe Gentlemen who accompany'd him, took their Leaves, wiſhing a proſperous Iſſue to this Undertaking; whom he anſwer'd again with great Civility and Reſpect. From hence he poſted directly for *Briſtol*, to take Order for the Train of Artillery, and many other Matters neceſſary for the haſtening his Men on Shipboard. His pompous March from *London*.

From *Briſtol* he takes his Way into *Wales*, having ſent over three Regiments before, *viz.* Colonel *Reynolds*'s of Horſe, Colonel *Venable*'s, and Colonel *Monk*'s of Foot. Theſe were ſhipped from *Cheſter* and the Ports thereabout; and being favour'd with a proſperous Gale, quickly arriv'd at the Port of *Dublin*, where they were welcom'd with unſpeakable Joy and Gladneſs. The Citizens ſpar'd for nothing that might be any Relief to the Sea-ſick Soldiers, hoping that the Recovery of their Health, might be a Means of enlarging their Liberties, who now were almoſt wholly confin'd within the narrow Compaſs of their City Walls. And they were not at all diſappointed of their Expectation: For *Jones* having his Courage much height-

He ſends Succours before him.

en'd

1649. en'd by the coming over of theſe Supplies, now car'd not for the Enemy's Bravadoes, but reſolv'd to remove them farther off; which he in a very little Time effected.

By which means *Ormond*'s Army is totally routed.

For on the 2d of *Auguſt*, he diſcover'd a Party of the Enemy, about fifteen hundred Foot beſides Horſe, drawn down to their new Work at *Baggot-rath*, a Place about a Quarter of a Mile Eaſtward of the City upon the Sea. Hence they deſign'd to run their Trenches towards the City-Works, thereby to ſecure thoſe Forts which were begun to be rais'd towards the Water, that they might hinder the Landing of the Forces and Supplies expected from *England*. But *Jones* and *Reynolds* with the reſt of the Commanders in the City, obſerving the Enemy's Deſign, judg'd it neceſſary to interrupt them: And ſo preſently drawing out twelve hundred Horſe, and four thouſand Foot, they ſoon enter'd the Enemy's new Works, and fell upon them with ſo much Fury, that they routed the Horſe at the firſt Charge; and ſoon after cut in pieces the greateſt Part of their Foot, and took moſt of the reſt Priſoners. The Report of this Diſaſter ſoon reach'd the General *Ormond*'s Ears, who was then playing at Tables in his Tent; and underſtanding alſo, that *Jones* was making towards his main Army, *he wiſh'd the Rebels would come that he might have ſome Sport with them*, and ſo went on with his Game: But he was ſoon forc'd to leave it; for *Jones* with his Men following the Chaſe to *Rathmims*, where *Ormond*'s Camp was, engag'd his whole Army, and after two Hours Fight, totally routed them with a very great Slaughter. Four thouſand were reckon'd to be kill'd on the Place and in the Chaſe, and above two thou-

ſand

ſand five hundred taken Priſoners, of whom ſeveral were Men of Quality, and amongſt the reſt *Ormond*'s own Brother, himſelf very narrowly eſcaping. They left all their great Guns, Ammunition, and Proviſions, behind them; and withal a rich Camp to reward the valiant Soldiers; who with the Spoil of it ſo trick'd themſelves up, that when they return'd to *Dublin*, many of the Officers did not know their own Men, they were grown ſo fine. This great Victory was obtain'd with the Loſs of few, not above Twenty of the Parliament's Party being miſſing after the Fight was over. The Succeſs was the more remarkable, becauſe unexpected on both ſides, *Jones* with his handful of Men being led on Step by Step to a compleat Victory, whereas their utmoſt Deſign at the Beginning of the Action, was only to beat the Enemy from *Baggot-rath*. *Ormond*'s Party were ſo ſurpriz'd, that they had not Time to carry off their Money, which lay at *Rathfarnham* for the paying of their Army, where *Jones* ſeiz'd four thouſand Pounds very ſeaſonably for the Payment of his Men. The Marqueſs upon this Defeat fled to *Kilkenny* with a conſiderable Number: Others betook themſelves to *Droghedah*, or *Tredagh*, whither he ſoon came himſelf with three hundred Horſe, and in very good Time; for Lieutenant-General *Jones* hoping the Town might be ſo terrify'd with this Overthrow as to ſurrender, haſten'd thither with ſome Horſe to ſummon it; but having Notice of *Ormond*'s coming, he march'd back to *Dublin*. 1649.

Cromwell embarks for Ireland.

The Lord Governour *Cromwell* being at *Milford-Haven*, receiv'd the full Account of *Ormond*'s Defeat, when he rather expected to hear of the Loſs of *Dublin*, and was in great Perplexity what to do. But the Clouds being diſpers'd

1649. diſpers'd upon the News of the great Succeſs his Party had that he ſent before, he defer'd not to embark his whole Army. On the 13th of *Auguſt*, he ſet Sail from *Milford-Haven* with thirty two Ships, wherein was the Van of his Army; *Ireton* ſoon following him with the main Body in forty two other Veſſels, and *Hugh Peter's* with twenty Sail bringing up the Rear. With a very proſperous Wind they ſoon arriv'd at *Dublin*, where they were receiv'd with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy, the great Guns echoing forth their Welcome, and the Acclamations of the People reſounding in every Street. *Cromwell* being come into the City, where the Concourſe of the People was very great, (they all flocking to ſee him, whom before they had heard ſo much of) at a convenient Place he made a Stand, and with his Hat in his Hand made a Speech to them, telling them, "That as God had brought him "thither in Safety, ſo he doubted not but by "his divine Providence to reſtore them all to "their juſt Liberties and Properties; and that "all thoſe, whoſe Heart's Affections were real "for the carrying on of the great Work a-"gainſt the barbarous and blood-thirſty *Iriſh*, "and all their Adherents and Confederates, "for the propagating of the Goſpel of Chriſt, "the eſtabliſhing of Truth and Peace, and re-"ſtoring that bleeding Nation to its former "Happineſs and Tranquillity, ſhould find Fa-"vour and Protection from the Parliament of "*England*, and from himſelf, and withal re-"ceive ſuch Rewards and Gratuities, as ſhould "be anſwerable to their Merits." This Speech was entertain'd with great Applauſe by the People, who all cry'd out, *That they would live and die with him.*

Arrives at *Dublin.*

CHAP.

Chap. II.

His Actions in Ireland, *and Return from thence.*

THE Army having refreſh'd themſelves, and the Lord-Lieutenant having ſettled both the military and civil Affairs of *Dublin*, he drew his Forces out of the City to a general Muſter, where appear'd a compleat Body of fifteen thouſand Horſe and Foot; out of which were drawn twelve Regiments, containing in all about ten thouſand ſtout reſolute Men, for the preſent Service. With this Army, furniſh'd with all Things neceſſary, he advanced towards *Tredagh*, a Town well fortify'd, with a Garriſon in it of two thouſand five hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe, the Flower of the royal Army, under the Command of Sir *Arthur Aſton*, a brave experienc'd Soldier. The Marqueſs of *Ormond* had foreſeen, that this Place by reaſon of its Neighbourhood and Situation, would be firſt attempted, it not being likely that the Enemy would leave ſo conſiderable a Fortreſs behind them: And he was in hopes he ſhould have Time to recruit his ſhatter'd Army, and repair the Loſs of the late Defeat, while *Cromwell* ſhould be waſting his Forces againſt a Town they believ'd could hold out a Month, and before that Time be reliev'd: But the Event ſhew'd how much he was miſtaken.

Cromwell was no ſooner come before *Tredagh*, but obſerving the Rules of War, he ſummon'd the Governour to ſurrender; which Summons

He ſtorms *Tredagh*.

1649. Summons was ſlighted, and look'd upon rather as a Matter of Formality, than that he did believe to have the Town upon it. Hereupon, the Lord-Governour order'd all Things for a quick Diſpatch of the Siege. *Ayſcough*'s Ships block'd them up by Sea; and on the Land, the white Flag was taken down, and the red Enſign diſplay'd before the Town. The beſieged were not much diſmay'd at this, as expecting Succour from the Marqueſs of *Ormond*: And they ſeem'd to be unanimous in this Reſolution, rather than deliver up the Town, to expire with it; as they did not long after.

For *Cromwell* being ſenſible of the Miſchiefs of a long Siege, like an impatient Conqueror, would not ſpend Time in the common Forms of Approaches and Turnings; but immediately planted a ſtrong Battery, which ſoon levell'd the Steeple of a Church on the *South* ſide of the Town, and a Tower that ſtood near it. The next Day, the Battery continuing, the corner Tower between the *Eaſt* and *South* Walls was demoliſh'd, and two Breaches made, which ſome Regiments of Foot immediately enter'd; but they were not made low enough for the Horſe to go in with them. Here the utmoſt Bravery was ſhown on both Sides, the Breaches being not more couragiouſly aſſaulted then valiantly defended. The Enemy within ſo furiouſly charg'd thoſe who firſt enter'd, that they drove them back again faſter than they came in. *Cromwell*, who was all this while ſtanding at the Battery, obſerving this, drew out a freſh Reſerve of Colonel *Ewer*'s Foot, and in Perſon bravely enter'd with them once more into the Town. This Example of their General inſpir'd the Soldiers with ſuch freſh

His Bravery and Conduct in that Action.

freſh Courage, that none were able to ſtand before them; and having now gain'd the Town, they made a terrible Slaughter, putting all they met with to the Sword, *Cromwell* having expreſly commanded not to ſpare any one that ſhould be found in Arms; the Deſign of which was to diſcourage other Places from making Oppoſition, to which purpoſe the Lord-Governour wrote to the Parliament, *That he believ'd this Severity would ſave much Effuſion of Blood.* *Aſton*'s Men did not fall unreveng'd; for they fought bravely, and deſperately diſputed every Corner of the Streets, making the Conquerors win what they had by Inches. The Streets at laſt proving too hot, they fled to the Churches and Steeples, and other Places of Shelter. About a hundred were got into St. *Peter*'s-Church Steeple, reſolving there to ſell their Lives at as dear a Rate as poſſible; but they were quickly all blown up with Gun-Powder, only one Man eſcaping, who leap'd from the Tower. The Wind befriending him, he receiv'd no further Hurt by the Fall than breaking his Leg; which *Cromwell*'s Men ſeeing, took him up, and gave him Quarter. In other Places, when they refus'd to yield upon Summons, ſtrong Guards were immediately put upon them to ſtarve them out; which ſoon had that effect as to make them ſurrender themſelves to the Mercy of the Conquerors, which was indeed but ſmall; for all the Officers were preſently knock'd on the Head, and every tenth Man of the Soldiers kill'd, and the reſt thruſt on Shipboard for *Barbadoes*. The Governour, Sir *Arthur Aſton*, here likewiſe met his Fate, being put to the Sword among the reſt. And thus was this ſtrong Place taken and ſack'd in leſs than a 1649.

1649. Week's Time, which the rebellious *Iriſh* were three whole Years in taking. This great Action was ſo ſurprizing, that *O-Neal* at the hearing of it, ſwore a great Oath, *That if* Cromwell *had taken* Tredagh *by Storm, if he ſhould ſtorm Hell, he wou'd take it.*

Many other Places ſubmit to him.

The diſmal Deſtruction of *Tredagh* render'd *Cromwell*'s Name formidable to all other Places round about. Few of them had ſo much Reſolution as to expect a Summons to ſurrender; and particularly the Garriſons of *Trim* and *Dundalk*, fearing the like Uſage, abandon'd them to the Conqueror. In this laſt Place their Haſte was ſo great, that they left their great Guns behind them on the Platforms. *Cromwell* did not at that Time carry on his Conqueſts any further *Northward*, but return'd to *Dublin*, and march'd with his Army towards *Wexford*, that Part lying convenient for ſubſiſting his Army in the *Southern* Counties. In his March, a Place call'd *Killingkerick*, about fourteen Miles from *Dublin*, being deſerted by the Enemy, he put a Party of his Men into it. *Arckloe-Caſtle* was likewiſe abandon'd, and many other Places ſubmitted to him.

He ſtorms *Wexford.*

On the 11th of *October*, *Cromwell* with his Army came before *Wexford*, and ſent a Summons to the Governour, Colonel *David Synnot*, requiring a ſpeedy Rendition. His Anſwer was ſomewhat dubious, which occaſion'd many Papers to paſs betwixt him and the Lord-General *Cromwell*. The Governour did this on purpoſe to protract Time, until the Earl of *Caſtle-Haven* had thrown a Party of five hundred Foot into the Town to reinforce the Gariſon; and having now receiv'd theſe Recruits, he reſolv'd to defend the Place as long as he could, and ſeem'd to defy all Attempts that might

might be made againſt him. Upon this *Cromwell* applies himſelf in good earneſt to the Work, and bends his greateſt Force againſt the Caſtle, knowing that upon the gaining of that, the Town muſt ſoon follow. He caus'd a Battery to be erected againſt it, whereby a ſmall Breach being made, Commiſſioners were ſent from the Enemy to treat about a Surrender. In the mean Time the Guns continu'd firing, no Ceſſation having been agreed upon; whereby the Breach in the Caſtle being made wider, the Guard that was appointed to defend it, quitted their Poſt; and thereupon ſome of *Cromwell*'s Men enter'd the Caſtle, and ſet up their Colours at the Top of it. The Enemy obſerving this, quitted their Stations in all Parts, ſo that the others getting over the Walls, poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Town without any great Oppoſition, and ſet open the Gates for the Horſe to enter, tho' they could do but little Service, all the Streets being barr'd with Cables. The Town being thus enter'd, none were ſuffer'd to live that were found in Arms; and ſo they cut their Way thro' the Streets, till they came to the Market-place, where the Enemy fought deſperately for ſome Time; but were at laſt quite broken, and all who were found in Arms put to the Sword. *Ludlow* ſays, that the Foot preſs'd the Enemy ſo cloſe, that crowding to eſcape over the Water, they ſo overloaded the Boats, that many of them were drowned. Great Riches were taken in this Town, it being eſteem'd by the Enemy a Place of Strength; and ſome Ships were ſeiz'd in the Harbour, which had much interrupted the Commerce of that Coaſt. The Lord-Lieutenant *Cromwell* appointed Commiſſioners to take Care of the Goods that 1649.

1649. were found in the Town belonging to the Enemy, that they might be improv'd to the beſt Advantage for the Publick. The Reduction of this Place was of very conſiderable Advantage to the Conquerors, being a Port-Town, and very convenient for receiving Supplies from *England*. And the Severity that was exercis'd here, had the ſame Effect with that us'd before at *Droghedah*: The Terror ſpreading into all Towns and Forts along the Coaſt as far as *Dublin*, ſpar'd the General the Trouble of ſummoning them.

The Winter now coming on, and it being a very wet Seaſon, *Cromwell*'s Troops ſuffer'd much from the Weather, and the Flux then raging amongſt them. Many thought theſe Reaſons ſhould have oblig'd him for the preſent to put a Stop to his Conqueſts; but he was of another mind, and more in the right than they. The Difficulties the Marqueſs of *Ormond* met with in bringing a new Army into the Field, after his late Defeat, the antient Diſagreement again breaking out between the *Popiſh* Confederates and him, on Account of that Diſaſter, the ſecret Intelligence held by *Cromwell* in the Province of *Munſter*, and the mighty Affairs that call'd him back over the Sea, ſeem'd to him more powerful Motives for continuing the War, than the Winter was to interrupt his Progreſs.

He reduces *Roſs*. Being thus reſolv'd, he marches with his Army towards *Roſs*, a ſtrong Town upon the *Barrow*. The Lord *Taffe* was Governour of this Place, who had a ſtrong Gariſon with him; and the better to ſecure it, *Ormond*, *Caſtlehaven*, and the Lord *Ardes*, in their own Perſons, caus'd fifteen hundred Men more to be boated over to reinforce it; *Cromwell*'s Army all

all the while looking on, without being able to hinder them. However, the Lord-Governour no ſooner came before the Town, but he ſent the Governour a Summons to this Effect, "That ſince his coming into *Ireland*, he e- "ver endeavour'd to avoid the Effuſion of "Blood, having been before no Place, where "he did not firſt ſend them ſuch Terms, as "might be for their Preſervation; and to con- "tinue the like Courſe, he now ſummons "them to deliver up the Town to the Par- "liament of *England*." No Anſwer was at preſent return'd to this Summons, till the great Guns began to play; when the Governour being apprehenſive of the ſame Uſage that other Gariſons had before met with, was willing to treat; which being allow'd, they came to this Agreement, "That the Town be deli- "ver'd up to the Lord-General *Cromwell*, and "they within march away with Bag and Bag- "gage to *Kilkenny*:" Which fifteen hundred of them accordingly did; but ſix hundred of them being *Engliſh* revolted to *Cromwell*. 1649.

In the mean time, *Kingſale*, *Cork*, *Youghall*, *Bandon-Bridge*, and other Gariſons, voluntarily declar'd for the Conqueror; which Gariſons prov'd of great Uſe to the Reducement of *Munſter*, and conſequently of all *Ireland*. Sir *Charles Coot* and Colonel *Venables* were very ſucceſsful in the *North*; and the Lord *Broghill* and Colonel *Hewſon* did good Service in other Places.

Cromwell having made himſelf Maſter of *Roſs*, caus'd a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the *Barrow*, and his Army to ſit down before *Duncannon*, a ſtrong Fort commanded by Colonel *Wogan*: But this Place was ſo well provided with all Things neceſſary, that

Beſieges *Duncannon*, and retreats from thence.

1649. it was judg'd it would be time loſt to tarry long before it. And ſo the Army quickly roſe, and march'd away into the County of *Kilkenny*; where the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, being join'd by *Inchequin*, ſeem'd reſolv'd to give *Cromwell* Battle. His Army was ſtrong both in Horſe and Foot, far ſurpaſſing *Cromwell*'s, which was much weaken'd by continual Duty, difficult Marches, the Flux and other Diſeaſes. Notwithſtanding which, the Marqueſs upon the Approach of his Enemy, drew off, without making any Attempt, or ſtriking one Stroke. Upon which, *Eniſtegoe*, a little walled Town about five Miles from *Roſs*, was reduced by Colonel *Abbot*; and Colonel *Reynolds* with twelve Troops of Horſe, and three of Dragoons, march'd up to *Carrick*; where having divided his Men into two Parts, whilſt he amus'd them with one Party, he enter'd a Gate with the other, taking about a hundred Priſoners without the loſs of a Man.

The News hereof being brought to the Lord-Governour *Cromwell*, than at *Roſs*, where he had continu'd for ſome time indiſpos'd, he immediately march'd away with his Army to beſiege *Waterford*, in hopes of gaining that important Place before his Forces ſhould draw into Winter-Quarters. Being come before it, he preſently detach'd a Regiment of Horſe, and three Troops of Dragoons to reduce *Paſſage*-Fort; which Party met with the deſir'd Succeſs, the Fort and Caſtle, with five great Guns, and much Arms and Ammunition, being ſoon deliver'd up to them. But the Siege of *Waterford* was not ſo ſucceſsfully carried on: For *Cromwell* perceiving, that the City reſolv'd to ſtand upon their own Defence, and it being now *December*, and the Weather very wet, he thought

His Army marches into Winter-Quarters.

thought it moſt adviſeable to draw off his Army into Winter-Quarters; where they might be refreſh'd againſt the Spring, for the better finiſhing of the Work they had ſo proſperouſly begun. 1649.

In the mean time, a Party of the Enemy from *Waterford*, and another from *Duncannon*, joining together, beſieg'd *Paſſage*-Fort; but being ſet upon by Colonel *Zankey*, they were totally routed, a great many of them being kill'd, and three hundred and fifty taken Priſoners. Several other Skirmiſhes were maintain'd with the like Succeſs; but the Loſs of Lieutenant-General *Jones*, who died about this Time at *Wexford*, of a violent Fever, ſtruck a Damp upon all. He was a Man every way bold and daring, of wonderful Courage and Reſolution; and yet he govern'd his Valour with Prudence, being not raſh, but adviſed in all his Attempts: The Army had a great Loſs of him, and his Death was ſoon follow'd by that of Colonel *Wolf*, and Scout-Maſter General *Roe*. Many of the common Soldiers had likewiſe their Share in this Mortality, but their Numbers were recruited by continual Supplies ſent from *England* by the Parliament. And now alſo the *Iriſh*, as well as the *Britiſh* Soldiers, under the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, being allur'd by the Succeſſes, and wrought upon by the Invitations of the Common-wealth, as alſo deterr'd by the Plague that rag'd amongſt them, together with the want of Pay and Neceſſaries, ran by whole Troops to *Cromwell*'s Camp; who made very great Uſe of the *Iriſh* Animoſities, and of the Jealouſies between them and *Ormond*. He us'd to ask ſome of the Marqueſs's Friends, whom he had taken Priſoners, *What the Marqueſs of* Ormond *had to*

Many from the Enemy revolt to him.

1649. *do with* Charles Stuart, *and what Obligations he had receiv'd from him*; and then would ſpeak of the hard Uſage his Grandfather had met with from King *James*, and the long Impriſonment he had ſuſtain'd by him, for not ſubmitting to an extrajudicial Determination: And ſaid, *He was confident, if the Marqueſs and he could meet and confer together, they ſhould part very good Friends.* And many who heard theſe Diſcourſes, by his Permiſſion, gave the Marqueſs Information of all he had ſaid.

He viſits the ſeveral Gariſons.

Whilſt the Army continu'd in their Winter-Quarters, the vigilant and active *Cromwell* would not ſit ſtill; but viſited all the Garriſons that were in his Poſſeſſion in *Munſter*, and order'd all Affairs both military and civil. When he came to *Kingſale*, the Mayor of the Town (as was uſual in other Places) deliver'd to him the Mace and Keys; which he return'd not to him again, but gave them to Colonel *Stubber* the Governour. This was the more taken notice of, becauſe it had not been us'd by the Lord-Lieutenant; but the Reaſon of this Proceeding was, becauſe the Mayor was an *Iriſh*-Man, and alſo a Papiſt, and ſo 'twas not judg'd proper to entruſt ſuch a one with the Government of ſo important a Place.

About this Time, the Parliament being apprehenſive of the Deſigns that were carrying on againſt them in *Scotland* in Favour of the King, and thinking they might have Occaſion to make uſe of *Cromwell*, for preventing of the Miſchief that threatned them from thence, reſolv'd that he ſhould be ſent for over into *England*, ordering the Speaker to write a Letter to him for that Purpoſe: But it being towards the latter End of *March* before he receiv'd

ceiv'd this Letter, and it being not his Temper to lie long idle, when he knew he had much to do, he proceeded in his Work of reducing *Ireland*, and was very ſucceſsful in it. 1649.

The Month of *January* was hardly expir'd, when the Army took the Field again in two Bodies, which he divided on purpoſe to diſtreſs the Marqueſs of *Ormond*. Himſelf took one Party, and another was led by *Ireton*, who march'd away to *Carrick*, in order to reinforce himſelf by the Conjunction of Colonel *Reynolds*. Theſe were to march into the Enemy's Quarters two ſeveral Ways, and to meet together at a Rendezvous near *Kilkenny*. In order to this Deſign, *Cromwell* with his Party march'd away over the *Blackwater*, towards the Counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*. The firſt Place reduc'd by him, was a Caſtle call'd *Kilkenny*, upon the Borders of the County of *Limerick*. After that he took in *Cloghern*-Houſe, belonging to Sir *Richard Everard*, one of the ſupreme Council of the *Iriſh*. From thence he march'd to *Roghill*-Caſtle, which upon Summons was deliver'd up to him. Here with much Difficulty he paſs'd the River *Shewr*, and without delay march'd away to *Feathard*, a Gariſon-Town where one *Butler* was Governour. Being got into the Suburbs about ten at night, he ſent a Trumpet with a Summons to the Town; but they ſhot at the Trumpet, and being inform'd, that the Lord-Lieutenant was with the Party, they ſaid, *That it was not a fit Time to ſend a Summons in the Night*. Upon this a Reſolution being taken to ſtorm, the Governour thought fit to ſend two Commiſſioners to treat with the Lord-Lieutenant; and after one Night ſpent in the Treaty, the Town was ſurrender'd the next

He takes the Field again.

Several Places deliver'd up to him.

Feathard ſurrender'd to him upon Articles.

1649. next Morning upon Articles; which *Cromwell* the more readily granted them, becauſe he had but few Foot, and no great Guns nor Ladders; and ſeventeen Companies of the *Ulſter* Foot were within five Miles of the Town. The Enemy quitted it in ſome Diſorder, after which the Magiſtrates ſent a Petition to the Lord-Lieutenant, deſiring his Protection.

He Storms and takes *Calan*.

The Forces having a little refreſh'd themſelves at *Feathard*, the General march'd with them from thence to *Calan*, gariſon'd by the Enemy. Here he was join'd by *Ireton*, *Reynolds*, and *Zankey*, making up in all a conſiderable Body. The chief Strength of *Calan* conſiſted in three Caſtles that were in the Town: And theſe the Soldiers ſtormed one after another, and carry'd them all. Thus the Place held out but one Day, and paid dear for that ſhort Reſiſtance, all who were in Arms being put to the Sword, except *Butler*'s Troops, which ſurrender'd before the Cannon was fir'd. This ſo terrify'd ſome who defended a Houſe about a Muſquet-ſhot from the Town, that they preſently ſent to deſire Liberty to remove to *Kilkenny*; which the Lord-General readily granted. The Soldiers having ſufficiently furniſh'd themſelves with the Proviſions they found in the Town, march'd back again to *Feathard*; by the Way, taking the two Caſtles of *Cnoctofer*, and *Bullynard*: After which ſoon follow'd *Kiltennon*, *Arfennon*, *Cober*, and *Dundrum*, very conſiderable Places.

The Lord-Governour *Cromwell* had now entirely ſubdu'd all Places of Importance, except *Limerick*, *Waterford*, *Clonmel*, *Galloway*; and *Kilkenny*. Theſe were Places of great Strength, and would take up much Time; however, he reſolv'd to attempt the laſt: But fearing the Force

Force he had, might not be ſufficient to carry on the Deſign, he ſent Orders to Colonel *Hewſon*, the new Governour of *Dublin*, to bring him all the Forces he could draw out of the Garriſons of *Wexford*, and the other Poſts he had taken on that Side. Accordingly *Hewſon*, after having taken by *Laughlin-Bridge*, join'd the Lord-Governour's Army near *Gowram*, a populous Town, defended by a ſtrong Caſtle, whereof one *Hammond* a *Kentiſh*-Man was Governour. Being ſummon'd to deliver it up, he return'd a very reſolute Anſwer, having great Confidence in the Valour of his Men, who were *Ormond*'s own Regiment. Upon this, the great Guns began to play, and did ſuch furious Execution, that he ſoon thought it time for him to beat a Parley: But it was now too late; for he could obtain no other Conditions than theſe, "That the common Soldiers ſhould "have their Lives, and the Officers be diſpos'd "of as ſhould be thought fit." The Place being thus deliver'd up, to which *Hammond* was enforc'd by the Sedition of the Soldiers, he and all the Commiſſion-Officers but one, were the next Day ſhot to Death; and the Prieſt, who was Chaplain to the Popiſh Soldiers in the Regiment, hanged. 1649. Reduces *Gowram*.

After this, the Lord-Governour proceeds in his Deſign of beſieging the City of *Kilkenny*. The Garriſon there requir'd a more than ordinary Strength to reduce it, as having been again and again reinforc'd by thoſe who had ſurrender'd upon Articles the ſmall Towns and Caſtles in that County. But *Cromwell*, not at all diſcourag'd at this, on the 22d of *March*, ſent firſt of all a ſmall Party of Horſe before to make Diſcovery, and ſhortly after came Beſieges and takes *Kilkenny*.

up

1650. up with his whole Force. Being advanc'd within a Mile of the City, he made a Stand, and ſent a Summons to Sir *Walter Butler* the Governour, and the Corporation, to deliver up the City, for the Uſe of the Parliament of *England*. The Anſwer, which was return'd the next Day, not being ſatisfactory, *Cromwell* made his Approaches near to the Wall, and caus'd a Battery to be erected in the moſt convenient Place for annoying the beſieged, and opening an Entrance to the Beſiegers. In the mean time, the beſieged were not idle; but obſerving where the Enemy bent his greateſt Strength, endeavour'd there to make the greateſt Oppoſition, by raiſing two Retrenchments within, ſtrongly palliſadoing them, and placing ſome Pieces that might play to the beſt Advantage. *Cromwell* however, having made all the neceſſary Preparations, fell furiouſly to battering the Walls; whereby, after making about a hundred Shot, a Breach was open'd. In the mean while, Colonel *Ewer*, with a thouſand Foot, was order'd to attempt another Part of the City, call'd *Iriſh*-Town; and the better to facilitate this Enterprize, the Soldiers were order'd to attack the foremention'd Breach: Which they accordingly did, but were forc'd to retreat with Loſs. However, the Deſign took Effect; for by this means the whole Strength of the Enemy was held in Play, while Colonel *Ewer* with his Party gain'd *Iriſh*-Town; which they did with very little Loſs. There was on the other Side of the River another ſmall Town, or Suburbs to the main City, and it was thought convenient to ſend eight Companies of Foot to poſſeſs themſelves of it; which was done without any Oppoſition: And this anima-

animated them to endeavour to force a Paſſage over the Bridge into the City; but the ſame Misfortune happen'd as before at the Breach. However, theſe deſperate Attempts occaſion'd the Governour to reflect more ſeriouſly upon his preſent Circumſtances: For the Garriſon in *Cantwel*-Caſtle, whom he had ſent for, had deſir'd Paſſes of the Lord-Governour *Cromwell* to go beyond Sea, and enter themſelves into the Service of foreign Princes, engaging never to act againſt the Parliament of *England*; which Requeſt *Cromwell* granted them. But that which moſt of all diſcourag'd the Governour, was, that he muſt not only defend himſelf, but muſt alſo be his own Relief, there being no Army in the Field ſufficient for that Purpoſe. Theſe things, together with the Conſideration, that the longer he ſtood out the worſe he would fare, induc'd him to enter into a Treaty; and ſo after a Day's Debate, they came to an Agreement upon the following Terms: "*Firſt*, That the "City and Caſtle ſhould be deliver'd up to "the Lord-Governour *Cromwell*, with all the "Arms, Ammunition, and publick Stores. "*Secondly*, The Inhabitants of *Kilkenny* to be "protected in their Perſons, Goods and Eſtates "from the Violence of the Soldiery; and ſuch "as had a mind to remove, to have Liberty "ſo to do, three Months after the Date of "the Articles. *Thirdly*, The Governour, Offi-"cers and Soldiers to march away with Bag "and Baggage. *Fourthly*, The City to pay "two thouſand Pounds as a Gratuity to his "Excellency the Lord *Cromwell*'s Army." 1650.

Thus was the City of *Kilkenny*, which had been the Nurſery of the late Rebellion, and the Reſidence of the ſupreme Council, reduc'd to the

1650. the Parliament's Obedience in leſs than a Week's Time, and that chiefly by the Vigilance, Activity, and indefatigable Induſtry of the Lord-General *Cromwell*; who would always bear a Share in the Hardſhips his Soldiers were expos'd to, and never flincht from them at any Time when his perſonal Valour was neceſſary; ſo that he frequently laid aſide the Dignity of a great Commander, to act the Part of a private Soldier.

Cromwell ſtaid no longer at *Kilkenny*, than was neceſſary to ſettle the Affairs of that City; after which he march'd with the Army to *Carrick*, from thence to proceed upon further Action. Here he wrote a Letter to the Speaker of the Parliament, giving a particular Account of the taking of *Kilkenny*, and ſeveral other Places of leſs Importance. And then concerning his coming over into *England*, he confeſs'd he had receiv'd many private Intimations of the Parliament's Pleaſure, as to that Matter, and Copies of their Votes; but all theſe were but private Intimations. He ſaid, that he receiv'd not the Speaker's Letter till *March* 22d, which was dated *Jan.* 8. and then ſuppos'd the Army to be in Winter-Quarters, and the Time of the Year not ſuitable for preſent Action: Upon which he concludes thus; "Making this as the Reaſon of your Com-"mand, (*viz.* the Army's being in Winter-"Quarters, *&c.*) and your Forces having been "in Action ever ſince *Jan.* 29, and your Let-"ter which was to be the Rule of my Obe-"dience, coming to my Hands after our hav-"ing been ſo long in Action, with Reſpect had "to the Reaſons you were pleas'd to uſe "therein; and having receiv'd a Letter, ſigned "by your ſelf, of the 26th of *Feb.* which "mentions

His Letter to the Parliament.

" mentions not a Word of the Continuance 1650.
" of your Pleaſure concerning my coming o-
" ver; I did humbly conceive it much con-
" ſiſted with my Duty, humbly to beg a po-
" ſitive Signification, what your Will is: Pro-
" feſſing (as before the Lord) that I am moſt
" ready to obey your Commands herein, with
" all alacrity; rejoicing only to be about that
" Work, which I am called to by thoſe whom
" God hath ſet over me, which I acknowledge
" to be you; and fearing only in obeying you,
" to diſobey you. I moſt humbly and earneſt-
" ly beſeech you to judge for me, whether
" your Letter doth not naturally allow me the
" Liberty of begging a more clear Expreſſion
" of your Command and Pleaſure; which,
" when vouchſafed to me, will find moſt ready
" and chearful Obſervance, from, *&c.*"

About this Time, the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, the Lord *Caſtlehaven*, and the Biſhop of *Clogher*, reflecting on the deſperate Condition of their Affairs, appointed a Meeting in *Weſt-Meath*, with the Gentlemen of that County, to conſider of ſome better Way to ſupport their Cauſe, which was now almoſt ruin'd every where. In this Meeting *Ormond* propos'd; " *Firſt*, Whether they were able to raiſe ſuch " Forces, as might be ſufficient to engage with " *Cromwell*. *Secondly*, In Caſe they were not " able to fight, whether it were not neceſſary " with all the Force they could make, to fall " into the *Engliſh* Quarters, and there to burn " and deſtroy what they could, that they " might not be able to ſubſiſt. *Thirdly*, If " this were not feaſible, then whether it were " not moſt convenient for them all to join " in ſome Propoſitions of Peace for the whole " Kingdom; or every one for himſelf, to make " his

Ormond in great Diſtreſs.

1650. "his particular Application." This laſt Expedient was moſt approv'd by ſome; but the chief of them being conſcious of their own Guilt, thought they were not very likely to obtain good Conditions, when Neceſſity oblig'd them to be Supplicants; and therefore to moleſt the *Engliſh* in their Quarters was judg'd to be moſt adviſeable for them all, thereby to protract Time, till they ſhould have a fit Opportunity to eſcape out of the Kingdom.

Cromwell beſieges *Clonmel.*

The Lord-Lieutenant having well refreſh'd his Army after the Siege of *Kilkenny*, march'd from *Carrick*, and ſet down before *Clonmel*, another conſiderable Place, in which was a Garriſon of two thouſand Foot, and a hundred and twenty Horſe. No ſooner was the Siege form'd but Colonel *Reynolds* and Sir *Theophilus Jones* were order'd to march away with a Detachment of two thouſand five hundred Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, to prevent *Ormond*'s Deſign of falling into the Parliament's Quarters; and notice hereof being ſent to Sir *Charles Coot*, he thereupon took the Field with three thouſand Men. But the Enemy ſhifting from Place to Place to avoid fighting, Colonel *Reynolds*, that his Men might not remain idle, beſieg'd *Tecrogham*. In the mean Time, the Lord *Broghil* being detach'd with another Party of one thouſand four hundred Horſe and Dragoons, and one thouſand two hundred Foot, to fight the Biſhop of *Roſs*, who with five thouſand Men, was marching to relieve *Clonmel*, he ſoon got up with them and totally routed them, killing about ſeven hundred upon the Place, taking twenty Captains, Lieutenants and other Officers; as alſo the Biſhop himſelf, with the Standard of the Church of *Munſter*. The Lord *Broghil's*

Lord *Broghil* defeats the Biſhop of *Roſs.*

Broghil's Horſe are ſaid to have done the Service before the Foot came up, and at ſuch a Paſs, where a hundred Muſqueteers might have repel'd all the Horſe in *Ireland*. The Biſhop was carry'd to a Caſtle, which was kept by his own Forces, and there hang'd before the Walls, in the Sight of the Garriſon; who were ſo diſmay'd at it, that they immediately ſurrender'd the Caſtle to the Parliament's Forces. This Biſhop us'd to ſay, *There was no way to ſecure the* Engliſh, *but by hanging them*; and now himſelf met with the ſame Fate. 1650. And hangs him.

Theſe Advantages were a great Encouragement to thoſe who lay before *Clonmel*; which the Lord-Lieutenant us'd more than ordinary Induſtry to reduce, underſtanding that its Defendants were very unanimous, and withal choice Men, well armed, and in all reſpects prepar'd to make a vigorous Reſiſtance. Beſides, it was govern'd by an active *Iriſh*-Man, one *Hugh Oneal*, who had employ'd all Hands in the Town for caſting up new Counterſcarps on the inſide of the old Walls, and doing every Thing elſe that might tend to ſecure the Place; ſo that it ſeem'd impoſſible to gain it by Aſſault.

However, the valiant and active *Cromwell*, whoſe Buſineſs now requir'd a quick Diſpatch, in regard that his Service was likely very ſoon to be wanted elſewhere, reſolv'd to try that Courſe: And ſo having ſummon'd the Governour to ſurrender, and receiving no ſatisfactory Anſwer, he order'd the great Guns to be planted; which did ſuch noble Execution, that a Breach was very ſoon open'd, which the Beſiegers, upon a Signal given, couragiouſly enter'd, and met with as gallant Reſi- *Clonmel* taken by Storm.

1650. ſtance from the beſieged; notwithſtanding which the former made good their Ground, and maintain'd a Fight for four Hours together, with doubtful Succeſs, there being a great Slaughter on both Sides: But at laſt the Enemy was forc'd to quit the Place, and betake themſelves to Flight; and tho' they were very much favour'd by ſome Hills near the Town, yet could they not eſcape the Fury of the victorious Soldiers, who kill'd many of them in the Purſuit. An eminent Commander in the Army, who was himſelf in this Fight, gave this Account of it: "That they found in "*Clonmel* the ſtouteſt Enemy that ever was "found by the Army in *Ireland*; and it was "his Opinion, and of many more, that there "was never ſeen ſo hot a Storm of ſo long "a Continuance, and ſo gallantly defended, nei-"ther in *England* nor *Ireland*." The ſubduing of this Place, tho' with ſo much difficulty, made ſuch an Impreſſion on many more, that in a very little Time they ſubmitted without ſo much as ſtriking a Stroke.

Other Succeſſes in *Ireland*.

While *Cromwell* was thus conquering in one Part of *Ireland*, *Coot* and *Venables* had the like Succeſs in another, and brought all the *North* under his Obedience: The Biſhop of *Clogher* was here entirely routed, and being taken Priſoner, met with the ſame Fate as the Biſhop of *Roſs*; and in this Fight three thouſand of the old *Iriſh* Rebels were ſlain.

Thus the Lord-Lieutenant was on all hands attended with Succeſs; and he gave a conſtant Account of his Proceedings to the Parliament and Council of State, in all his Letters exhorting them *to give the Glory unto God, to whom it was only due*: And his proceeding ſo proſperouſly in his Affairs, and obtaining thereby

ſo great a Sway, occaſion'd a Book to be diſpers'd about this time, entituled, *The Character of King* Cromwell; which, tho' ſuppreſs'd for a Libel, is ſaid to have been even receiv'd as a Kind of Prophecy. He was now preparing to take *Waterford* and *Duncannon*, which he had miſs'd of before; and had actually block'd up *Waterford*, when about the middle of *May*, he was by a new Order, or rather Requeſt of the Parliament, oblig'd to leave the finiſhing of his ſo far extended Conqueſts to his Son-in-Law *Ireton*, whom, for that Purpoſe, he conſtituted Lord-Deputy. He had been in *Ireland* about nine Months; a very inconſiderable Time, if we reſpect the great Work he perform'd therein, which was more than ever any King or Queen of *England* was able to do in ſo many Years before. 1650

Cromwell appoints *Ireton* his Deputy.

Waterford was ſurrender'd ſoon after his Departure; and ſo remarkable was the Parliament's Succeſs in all Parts of that Kingdom, thro' the active Valour, Prudence, and Induſtry of the Lord Lieutenant *Cromwell*, and thoſe whom he employ'd under him, that in leſs than a Year's time, they were Maſters of all but *Limerick*, *Galloway*, and ſome few Garriſons and Forces on the *Faſtneſſes*. Before the Lord Governour left the Iſle that he might the better weaken the *Iriſh*, he contriv'd means for tranſporting no leſs than forty thouſand of them out of the Nation, into the Service of foreign Princes; of whom few ever return'd again to their native Country: So great a Scourge was he to that rebellious and bloodthirſty Generation.

All *Ireland* in a manner reduc'd by him.

Cromwell having appointed *Ireton* his Deputy, and viſited thoſe places in *Munſter*, which had lately ſubmitted to the Parliament, with

His triumphant Return to *England*.

1650. Deſign to ſettle the Civil as well as Military Affairs of that Province; for which end he made *John Coke* Eſq; Chief Juſtice of *Munſter*; and having order'd all things in the beſt manner that was poſſible, he embark'd for *England*, and ſail'd home, as 'twere, in Triumph. After a boiſterous Paſſage, he landed at *Briſtol*, where the great Guns were fir'd thrice over at his Arrival, and he was welcom'd with many other Demonſtrations of Joy. Hence, without delay, he poſts for *London*; and on *Hounſlow-Heath*, was met by the Lord General *Fairfax*, many Members of Parliament and Officers of the Army, and Multitudes of People, who came out of Curioſity to ſee him, who had made himſelf ſo famous, and acquir'd ſuch high Renown by his great and valiant Actions. Being thus attended, he proceeds on, and coming to *Hyde-Park* is ſaluted with great Guns, and ſeveral Volleys of Shot from Colonel *Barkſtead*'s Regiment, which was drawn up in the way for that purpoſe. Thus in a triumphant Manner he enter'd the City of *London*, amidſt a Croud of Attendants, Friends, Citizens, *&c.* and was receiv'd with great Demonſtrations of Joy. Here 'tis obſerv'd, that as he did not refuſe the Honours that were paid to him on this occaſion, ſo he ſhew'd he had too much Senſe to make much account of them; and that as he was paſſing by *Tyburn*, a certain Flatterer pointing to the Crouds of People that came to meet him, and ſaying, *See what a Multitude of People come to attend your Triumph*; he anſwer'd with a Smile and very unconcern'd, *More would come to ſee me hang'd.* Being conducted to the *Cock-pit*, which had been prepar'd for his Reception, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and many other Perſons of Quality, paid their

Visits to him, congratulating the safe Arrival of his Excellency, and expressing their own and the Nation's great Obligations to him. Having resum'd his Place in Parliament, the Speaker in an elegant Speech gave him the Thanks of the House, for the great and faithful Services, he had perform'd for the Common-wealth in the Nation of *Ireland*: After which, the Lord-Lieutenant gave them a full and particular Account of the present State and Condition of that Kingdom. 1650.

Ireton's Death and Character.

And here, as it will not fall in our Way in the remaining Part of this History, we shall conclude this Chapter with the Death and Character of the Lord Deputy *Ireton*, who died about a Year and a half after *Cromwell's* Departure. He had proceeded very successfully in his new Government and Command; and after the taking of several Places, giving Articles to some, and making Examples of others, he attempted the strong City of *Limerick*, which, after a long Siege, at last surrender'd to him: But falling sick of the Plague here shortly after, he ended his Days on the 26th of *November* 1651. This Man has been highly extoll'd by some, and as much condemn'd by others. So far as we have had occasion to mention him in this History, we have given as just an Account of his Actions and Proceedings as we could; wherein the Reader must be left to censure or acquit him as he shall think fit, after we have given this short Character of him from *Whitelock*, who seems the most impartial: "This Gentleman, says he, was a Person very "active and industrious (or as he says elsewhere, a Man of Industry and Invention) "and stiff in his Ways and Purposes; He was "of good Abilities for Counsel as well as

1650. "Action; and made much uſe of his Pen, "and was very forward to reform the Proceed-"ings in Law, wherein his having been bred a "Lawyer was an help to him. He was ſtout "in the Field, and wary and prudent in his "Counſel, and exceedingly forward as to the "Buſineſs of a *Common-wealth*. He married "*Cromwell*'s Daughter, who had a great Opi-"nion of him, and no Man could prevail ſo "much, nor order him ſo far as *Ireton* could. "His Death ſtruck a great Sadneſs into *Crom-*"*well*; and indeed it was a great Loſs to him, "of ſo able, and active, ſo faithful, and ſo near "a Relation, and Officer under him." The new Common-wealth had alſo a great Loſs by his Death; who to expreſs their Gratitude for his important Services, order'd his Body to be brought over to *England*; where having firſt lain in State in *Somerſet-Houſe*, he was interr'd at *Weſtminſter* among the *Engliſh* Kings, with the greateſt Pomp and Magnificence.

CHAP. III.

From Cromwell's *Return out of* Ireland, *to the Battle of* Dunbar.

IN leſs than a Month after the Lord-Lieutenant's Return from his Conqueſts in *Ireland*, he was employ'd by the Parliament in a new Expedition againſt the *Scots*; who upon the King's Death, had proclaim'd his Son, Prince *Charles*, King of *Scotland*, *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and ſent Commiſſioners to him at the *Hague*, to invite his Majeſty into *Scotland*, or ra-

The *Scots* treat with King *Charles* II.

rather to acquaint him upon what Terms he might come thither: For tho' they had declar'd his Right by Succeſſion; yet before he ſhould be admitted to the Exerciſe of his royal Power, he was to "Give Satisfaction "to the Kingdom in thoſe Things which con- "cern'd the Security of Religion, the Unity "betwixt the Kingdoms, and the Good and "Peace of that Kingdom, according to the "*national Covenant*, and the *ſolemn League and* "*Covenant.*" Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the King began to perceive, that the States-General were very uneaſy at his Continuance in their Dominions, fearing it might give ſome umbrage to the *Engliſh* Commonwealth, with whom they had no mind to break. They gave daily Intimations, *That the King's reſiding at the* Hague, *would be very inconvenient for them*; and 'twas owing wholly to the great Intereſt and Dexterity of the Prince of *Orange*, that they did not ſend a Meſſage directly to deſire him to depart. However, the King reſolv'd to remove; and an Accident happen'd at this Time, which haſten'd that Reſolution; which was the Aſſaſſination of Dr. *Doriſlaus* at the *Hague*. This Man had been concern'd in the late King's Trial; and being ſent as an Agent from *England*, for the begetting and continuing a right Underſtanding and fair Correſpondence betwixt the two Republicks, while he was at Supper in his Lodgings, with many others at the Table, ſix Gentlemen enter'd the Room with their Swords drawn, and bid thoſe at the Table not ſtir, *for they intended no harm to any but the Agent, who came from the Rebels in* England, *who had lately murder'd their King.* Hereupon one *Whitford* pull'd *Doriſlaus* from the Table, and kill'd him

1650.

Dr. *Doriſlau's* murder'd at the *Hague*.

1650. him at his Feet, ſaying, *Thus dies one of the Regicides*: And ſo putting up their Swords, they went quietly out of the Houſe, and eſcap'd unpuniſh'd, tho' the States pretended they had us'd their utmoſt Endeavours to get them apprehended.

The King left the *Hague* in *May* 1649, taking his Journey into *France*, where he ſtaid ſome Months with the Queen his Mother at St. *Germans*: But the Court of *France* growing uneaſy at his Continuance there, he at length embark'd for the Iſle of *Jerſey*, which together with *Guernſey*, *Man*, and *Scilly*, had not yet ſubmitted to the Parliament.

The *Scots* proceed in their Treaty with the King.

It was no ſooner known in *Scotland*, that the King was arriv'd at *Jerſey*, but Mr. *Windram Layds* of *Libberton* was ſent with a Meſſage to him; who in the Beginning of *October*, preſented the following Deſires and Offers of the States of *Scotland*. *Firſt*, "That he "would ſign the *Covenant*, and paſs an act "for all Perſons to take it. *Secondly*, That "he would paſs the Acts of Parliament in *Scot-* "*land*, which were ratify'd by their two laſt "Seſſions. *Thirdly*, That he would withdraw "his Commiſſion from the Marqueſs of *Mon-* "*troſs*. *Fourthly*, That he would put away "all Papiſts from about him. *Fifthly*, That "he would appoint ſome Place in *Holland* to "treat with Commiſſioners from the Eſtates "of *Scotland*. *Sixthly*, That he would give a "ſpeedy Anſwer."

About this time, the Rulers in *England* having prepar'd a Fleet againſt the Iſle of *Jerſey*, it was judg'd neceſſary for his Majeſty to leave that Place, and return thro' *France* to *Breda*. Here he fell into new Treaties with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, who waiting on him about

bout the latter End of *March*, inſiſted on his Compliance with the following Propoſitions from the Kirk and States of *Scotland*: "*Firſt*, "That all excommunicated Perſons ſhould be "forbid Acceſs to the Court. *Secondly*, That "the King would by ſolemn Oath, and under "his Hand and Seal, declare his Allowance "of the *National Covenant* of *Scotland*, and "of the *Solemn League and Covenant* of the "three Nations. *Thirdly*, That he ſhould con-"firm all Acts of Parliament, enjoining the ſo-"lemn League and Covenant, eſtabliſhing *Preſ-"bytery*, the *Directory*, the *Confeſſion of Faith* "and *Catechiſm* in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, "as they are already approv'd by the Gene-"ral Aſſembly of the Kirk, and the Parlia-"ment; and that he would obſerve the ſame "in his own Family, and ſwear never to op-"poſe, or endeavour the Alteration of the "ſame. *Fourthly*, That he would conſent, "that all civil Matters might be determin'd "by the preſent and ſubſequent Parliaments "in *Scotland*, and all Matters eccleſiaſtical "by the general Aſſembly of the Kirk." 1650.

Unfortunate Expedition of the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*.

While the King was conſulting with his Friends what was beſt to be done in this Exigency, an Accident happen'd that had like to have broke off the Treaty. Whilſt his Majeſty reſided at the *Hague*, the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* waited on him, and undertook, if he would follow his Advice, to reſtore him to his Kingdoms by Force of Arms. He only deſir'd of the King Power to act in his Name, and a Supply in Money, with a Letter recommending him to the King of *Denmark* for ſome Ships, and ſuch Arms as he could ſpare.

All theſe being granted by the King, and Preparations made for the Expedition, *Montroſs*, with

1650. with no more then ſix or ſeven hundred Men, in four Ships, reſolv'd to venture his Fortune, expecting to join with the northern People in *Scotland*, who had formerly experienc'd his great Bravery and Conduct. He got firſt to the Iſlands of *Orkney*, and from thence into the Highlands; but could perform nothing of what he had untertaken, *Leſley* having order'd Colonel *Straughan* to advance towards him, with three hundred choice Horſe; who in *April*, 1650, ſet upon this ill compos'd Body of *Montroſs*, and utterly routed them. *Montroſs* fled, but was at laſt betray'd by one of thoſe to whom he truſted himſelf, *Mackland* of *Aſſin*, and was brought Priſoner to *Edinburgh*. He was carried thro' the Streets with the moſt brutal Infamy that could be deviſ'd, and in a few Days, by a Sentence pronounc'd by the Lord *Lowden*, was hang'd upon a Gibbet thirty Foot high for three Hours; after which he was quarter'd, and his Head ſet upon the *Tolbooth*, and his Legs and Arms over the Gates of *Sterling*, *Glaſcow*, *Dundee*, and *Aberdeen*. His Behaviour under all his Sufferings was as great and firm to the laſt, as the Fury of the Covenanters againſt him was black and univerſally deteſted.

The violent Party in *Scotland*, were hereupon for breaking off the Treaty with the King, tho' by the Date of the Marqueſs's Commiſſion, it appear'd to have been granted before the Treaty commenc'd: However, it was carried not to recal their Commiſſioners. On the other hand, one would think that this Cruelty to one who had acted by his Commiſſion, would effectually have prevented the King from complying with them. But he was in no Condition to ſtruggle with theſe Men,

Men, and ſo quickly yielded to all their Demands. And being furniſh'd with ſome *Dutch* Men of War by the Prince of *Orange*, he embark'd for *Scotland*; where he landed on the 16th of *June*, after a Demand from the Council, *That he would ſign both the* Covenants *before he ſet his Feet on the Shore*; to which he was perſuaded to conſent. He tarried ſeveral Days at *Dundee*, attended with one Committee from the Parliament, and another from the Kirk, who were urging his Majeſty to ſign ſeveral Propoſitions, and before he comply'd, would not agree to his coming to *Edinburgh* to be crown'd. 1650. The King arrives in *Scotland*.

The Parliament and Committee of Eſtates were likewiſe endeavouring to raiſe an Army for the King's Service, as they alledg'd, and to that end had publiſh'd an Act for training of every fourth Man, who was able to bear Arms throughout the Kingdom. With this Army 'twas ſuppos'd they intended to invade *England*, and ſecure the Eſtabliſhment of the King in his Throne. The Preachers were very earneſt in their Perſuaſions to engage the People in this Cauſe; and notwithſtanding the ſeveral Obſtructions they met with, by reaſon of their Diviſions among themſelves, they compleated their Levies to about ſixteen thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe. The King was ſuffer'd to come once to ſee this Army; but not to ſtay in it; for they fear'd he might gain too much upon the Soldiers. Special Care was taken not to ſuffer *Malignants* or *Engagers*, as they call'd the *Hamiltonian*, Party, to be in this Army. All who had deſerted their Cauſe, or were thought indifferent as to either ſide, which they call'd *deteſtable Neutrality*, were put out of Commiſſion. And now the Preachers An Army rais'd by the *Scots*.

1650. chers thinking they had got an Army of Saints, ſeem'd well aſſur'd of Succeſs.

Whilſt theſe Tranſactions and Preparations were carrying on in *Scotland*, the Commonwealth of *England* took great care to provide for its own Support and Security. To this End, as has been already mention'd, before the King landed in *Scotland*, it was thought neceſſary to ſend for the Lord-Lieutenant *Cromwell* out of *Ireland*; who immediately adviſ'd the Junto of the Council of State, not to be behindhand with their Enemy, nor to truſt to any After-game, but to prevent the *Scots* Invaſion of *England*, by carrying the War directly into *Scotland*. But ſome ſcrupulous Men amongſt them objected, *That to begin a War with* Scotland *would be contrary to the Covenant*: To which it was anſwer'd, "That the "*Scots* had already broken the Covenant, and "that therefore it was not now binding "on the one ſide, after it had been diſſolv'd "on the other." So they came at length to this Reſolution, "That having a formed Army, "well provided and experienc'd, they would "march it forthwith into *Scotland*, to prevent "the *Scots* marching into *England*, and the "Miſeries that might attend ſuch an Invaſion." The Lord-General *Fairfax* being adviſ'd with herein, ſeem'd at firſt to like the Deſign; but being afterwards hourly perſuaded by the Presbyterian Miniſters, and his own Lady, who was a great Patroneſs of them, he declar'd, *That he was not ſatisfy'd, that there was a juſt Ground for the Parliament of* England, *to ſend their Army to invade* Scotland; *but in caſe the* Scots *ſhould invade* England, *then he was ready to engage againſt them in Defence of his own Country.* The Council of State being ſomewhat troubled

Cromwell adviſes to invade Scotland.

troubled at the Lord-General's Scruples, appointed a Committee to confer with him, in order to satisfy him of the Justice and Lawfulness of this Undertaking. This Committee were *Cromwell*, *Lambert*, *Harrison*, St. *John*, *Whitelock*, &c. *Cromwell* open'd the Conference; and after some previous Discourse between the Lord-General and the Committee, his Excellency acquainted them with the ground of his Dissatisfaction, declaring, *That he did not see that the* Scots *had given sufficient Cause for this Invasion of their Country by the* English. Upon which *Cromwell* proceeded thus: 1650.

His Speech in the Committe, for satisfying the General.

" I confess, my Lord, that if they have given us no Cause to invade them, it will not " be justifiable for us to do it; and to make " War upon them without a sufficient Ground " for it, will be contrary to that which in " Conscience we ought to do, and displeasing both to God and good Men. But, my " Lord, if they have invaded us, as your Lordship knows they have done since the National League and Covenant, and contrary to " it, in that Action of Duke *Hamilton*, which " was by Order and Authority from the Parliament of that Kingdom, and so the Act of " the whole Nation by their Representatives; " and if they now give us too much Cause " of Suspicion, that they intend another Invasion upon us, joining with their King, with " whom they have made a full Agreement, " without the Assent or Privity of this Common-wealth; and are very busy at this present in raising Forces, and Money to carry " on their Design: If these Things are not " a sufficient Ground and Cause for us to endeavour to provide for the Safety of our " own Country, and to prevent the Miseries

" which

1650. " which an Invaſion of the *Scots* would bring " upon us, I humbly ſubmit it to your Ex- " cellency's Judgment. That they have for- " merly invaded us, and brought a War into " the Bowels of our Country, is known to all, " wherein God was pleas'd to bleſs us with " Succeſs againſt them: And that they now " intend a new Invaſion upon us, I do as really " believe, and have as good Intelligence of it, " as we can have of any thing that is not yet " acted. Therefore I ſay, my Lord, that up- " on theſe Grounds, I think we have a moſt " juſt Cauſe to begin, or rather to return and " requite their Hoſtility firſt begun upon " us; and thereby to free our Country (if " God ſhall be pleas'd to aſſiſt us, and I doubt " not but he will) from the great Miſery and " Calamity of having an Army of *Scots* with- " in our Country. That there will be a War " between us, I fear is unavoidable: Your " Excellency will ſoon determine, whether it " be better to have this War in the Bowels " of another Country, or of our own; and that " it will be in one of them, I think it with- " out Scruple." Much Diſcourſe paſs'd after this between the General and the Committee; but he ſtill continu'd in the ſame Mind, deſir'd to lay down his Commiſſion, and concluded thus: " As far as my Conſcience will " give way, I am willing to join with you " ſtill in the Service of the Parliament; but " where the Conſcience is not ſatisfy'd, none " of you, I am ſure, will engage in any Ser- " vice; and that is my Condition in this, and " therefore I muſt deſire to be excuſed."

Cromwell and the other Officers in this Committee were moſt earneſt in perſuading the General to continue his Commiſſion; and yet

yet 'tis ſaid, there was Cauſe enough to believe that they did not over much deſire it. *Ludlow* ſays, that *Cromwell* preſs'd the Council of State, "That notwithſtanding the unwillingneſs of the Lord *Fairfax* to command upon this Occaſion, they would yet continue him to be General of the Army; profeſſing for his own part, *that he would rather chuſe to ſerve under him in his Poſt, than to command the greateſt Army in* Europe." He alſo informs us, that the fore-mention'd Committee was appointed upon the Motion of Lieutenant-General *Cromwell, who*, ſays he, *acted his Part ſo to the Life, that I really thought him in earneſt.* And indeed, if he had not been in earneſt, I do not think he would have us'd the moſt likely Arguments to convince the General of the lawfulneſs of the deſigned Expedition, and to prevail on him to continue his Commiſſion; as he certainly did. 1650.

The Committee having made their Report to the Council of State, of all that had paſs'd, and acquainted them with the Lord-General's total Averſeneſs to march with the Army into *Scotland*; and this being order'd to be again reported to the Parliament, new Endeavours were us'd to prevail on his Excellency, but without Succeſs; and ſhortly after he thought fit to reſign his Commiſſion. But the Parliament were not much at a Loſs for one to ſucceed in that great Office; for having ſufficiently experienc'd the Valour, Conduct, and Faithfulneſs of Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, they ſoon voted, *nemine contradicente*, that he ſhould be their General; and ſo an Act paſs'd *For conſtituting and appointing* Oliver Cromwell *Eſq; to be Captain-General in chief of all the Forces*

Fairfax laying down his Commiſſion

Cromwell is made General in his room.

1650. *Forces raiſed, and to be rais'd, by Authority of Parliament, within the Common-wealth of* England.

A private Conference between *Cromwell* and *Ludlow.*

A Day or two after, there was a private Conference between General *Cromwell* and Colonel *Ludlow*; the Occaſion whereof was this: The General told *Ludlow*, as he ſat by him in the Houſe, that having obſerv'd an Alteration in his Looks and Carriage towards him, he apprehended that he had entertain'd ſome Suſpicions of him; and being perſuaded of the Tendency of both their Deſigns to the good of the Publick, he deſir'd that a Meeting might be appointed, wherein they might freely lay open the Grounds of their Miſtakes and Miſapprehenſions, and a Foundation might be laid for a good Underſtanding between them for the future. *Ludlow* anſwer'd, That he diſcover'd in him what he had never perceiv'd in himſelf; yet ſince he was pleas'd to do him the Honour to deſire a free Converſation with him, he aſſur'd him of his readineſs therein. Hereupon they agreed to meet that Afternoon in the Council of State, and from thence to retire to a private Room; where General *Cromwell* endeavour'd to perſuade Ludlow *of the Neceſſity incumbent upon him to do ſeveral things that appeared extraordinary in the Judgment of ſome Men, who in Oppoſition to him, took ſuch Courſes as would bring ruin upon themſelves, as well as him and the publick Cauſe*; aſſuring him, *that his Intentions were entirely directed to the good of the People, and that he was moſt ready to ſacrifice his Life in their Service.* *Ludlow* confeſs'd his former Diſſatisfaction with him and the reſt of the Army, when they were treating with the King, whom he look'd upon as the only Obſtruction to the Settlement of the Nation; and with their Actions at the Rendezvous, where

where they ſhot a Soldier to Death, and im- 1650.
priſon'd ſeveral others, upon the Account of
that Treaty; which he conceiv'd to have been
done without Authority, and for ſiniſter Ends:
Yet as they had ſince manifeſted their Ad-
herence to the Common-wealth, he was well
enough ſatisfy'd, tho' ſome things were ſtill
carry'd otherwiſe than he could wiſh. Here-
upon (as *Ludlow* himſelf, who relates this Confe-
rence, tells us) the General acknowledg'd, that his
Diſſatisfaction with the Army whilſt they were
treating with the King, was founded upon
good Reaſons, and excus'd what had been done
at the Rendezvous, as abſolutely neceſſary to
keep things from falling into Confuſion; which
muſt have follow'd upon that Diviſion, if it
had not been ſeaſonably prevented. He fur-
ther tells us, that the General profeſs'd to de-
ſire nothing more, than that the Government of
the Nation might be ſettled in a free and e-
qual Common-wealth; acknowledging, that
there was no other probable Means to keep
out the old Family and Government from re-
turning upon them. Then after a long Diſ-
courſe, ſavouring much of *Enthuſiaſm*, after
the manner of thoſe times, he added, " That
" it was his Intention to contribute the ut-
" moſt of his Endeavours to make a thorough
" Reformation of the Clergy and Law: *But*
" ſaid he, *the Sons of* Zerviah *are yet too*
" *ſtrong for us*; *and we cannot mention the Re-*
" *formation of the Law, but they preſently cry*
" *out*, we deſign to deſtroy Property; *whereas*
" *the Law, as 'tis now conſtituted, ſerves only*
" *to maintain the Lawyers, and to encourage the*
" *Rich to oppreſs the Poor*: Affirming, that
" Mr. *Coke*, then Juſtice in *Ireland*, by pro-
" ceeding in a ſummary and expeditious way,

1650. "determin'd more Causes in a Week, than "*Westminster-Hall* in a Year." He said further, "That *Ireland* was as a clean Paper in "that Particular, and capable of being go-"vern'd by such Laws as should be found "most agreeable to Justice; which may be so "impartially administred, as to be a good Pre-"cedent even to *England* it self, where when "they once perceive Property preserved at an "easy and cheap Rate in *Ireland*, they will "never permit themselves to be cheated and "abused, as now they are."

He consults about the Affairs of *Ireland*.

Before the Lord-General's Departure for the *Scotch* Expedition, he mov'd the Council of State, "That since they had employ'd him a-"bout a Work which would require all his "Care, they would be pleas'd to ease him "of the Affairs of *Ireland*:" Which they not consenting to, he then mov'd, "That they "would at least send over some Commissioners "for managing the Civil Affairs; assuring "them likewise, that the Military being more "than Major-General *Ireton* could possibly car-"ry on, without the Assistance of some General "Officer to command the Horse, which Em-"ployment was become vacant by the Death "of the brave Lieutenant-General *Jones*, it "was absolutely necessary to commissionate "some worthy Person for that Employment, "and to authorize him to be one of their "Commissioners for the civil Government." And thereupon he mention'd Colonel *Ludlow* as a fit Person for that Charge; telling them, "That tho' he himself was empower'd by vir-"tue of his Commission from the Parliament, "to nominate the Lieutenant-General of the "Horse, yet because the Gentleman he pro-"pos'd, was a Member of Parliament, and of the

" the Council of State, he desir'd, for the 1650.
" better securing the Obedience of the Army
" to him, that the Parliament might be mov'd
" to nominate and appoint him to that Em-
" ployment." In the End the Council agreed,
" That the House should be moved to ap-
" point Colonel *Ludlow* Lieutenant-General of
" the Horse in *Ireland*; and that the Lord-
" General *Cromwell*, Major-General *Ireton*, Co-
" lonel *Ludlow*, Colonel *John Jones*, and Ma-
" jor *Salway*, or any three of them, should
" be authoriz'd by Act of Parliament, to be
" Commissioners for the Administration of the
" civil Affairs in that Nation." And the Par-
liament concur'd with the Council herein,
with the Addition only of Mr. *Weaver*,
a Member of the House, to be one of the
Commissioners for managing the civil Govern-
ment.

The Lord-General *Cromwell* having thus provided for the well ordering of the Affairs of *Ireland*, on the 29th of *June*, address'd himself to his Journey towards the Army in the *North*. He receiv'd great Demonstrations of Respect from the generality of the People, as he pass'd along; and on the 4th of *July* he arriv'd at *York*, accompany'd with many great Officers of the Army. Here the Lord Mayor and Aldermen attended him, and invited him and his Officers to a stately Dinner, where they were highly caress'd, and entertain'd with mighty Expressions of Joy. But having his Business chiefly at Heart, he staid here no longer than to order Supplies for the Army, and hasten their Rendezvous.

He sets out for *Scotland*.

Arrives at *York*.

Before this, the Committee of Estates in *Scotland*, seeming to be surpriz'd at the News of the *English* Army's marching Northwards, began to

The *Scots* alarm'd send a Letter to the Parliament.

1650. expoſtulate the Matter with the Parliament; ſending a Letter to the Speaker by Colonel *Grey*, to this Effect: "That they wonder'd "at the Report of the *Engliſh* Army's Ad- "vance towards their Country, and that many "of their Ships were ſeiz'd and ſecur'd by "the *Engliſh* contrary to the Act of Pacifi- "cation in the large Treaty, whereby no Acts "of Hoſtility were to be us'd againſt each "other, without three Months Warning gi- "ven beforehand: That the Forces they were "raiſing were only for their own Defence; "and therefore they deſir'd to know, if the "*Engliſh* Army now on their March North- "ward, were deſign'd for Offence or De- "fence; to guard their own Borders, or in- "vade *Scotland*." Letters of the ſame Import were alſo ſent to Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* Governour of *Newcaſtle*, Major-General *Lambert*, and the Lord-General *Cromwell*.

The Parliament's Declaration of the Grounds of their Proceedings.

On the other hand, the Parliament of *England* publiſh'd a Declaration of the Grounds and Reaſons of their Army's Advance Northwards; ſome of which were to this Effect: "*Firſt*, That the *Scots*, contrary to their A- "greement, had once already invaded *Eng- "land* under Duke *Hamilton*, and were now "ready for a ſecond Invaſion; ſo that the "*Engliſh* were advanc'd againſt them only by "Way of Prevention. *Secondly*, That altho' "they could not claim to themſelves any Au- "thority or Dominion over the *Engliſh*, yet "in *Scotland* they proclaimed *Charles Stuart* "King of *England* and *Ireland*; and ſince that, "promis'd to aſſiſt him againſt this Com- "mon-wealth. *Thirdly*, That they declar'd a- "gainſt the *Engliſh* Parliament and Army, as "*Sectaries*, ranking them with Malignants

" and Papiſts; and had reſolv'd to impoſe their " Form of Religion upon the *Engliſh* Na- " tion." 1650.

The *Scots* perceiving that with all their Arts the Parliament of *England* was not to be impos'd on, now labour'd by all Methods poſſible to render their Army odious, and incenſe the People againſt them To this End they gave out, " That *Cromwell* had a Commiſſion " to come for *Scotland* with Fire and Sword, " and was to give no Quarter to any *Scot*; " and that he was to have all he could con- " quer for himſelf and his Soldiers." And they further reported, " That the *Engliſh* Ar- " my intended to put all Men to the Sword, " and to thruſt hot Irons thro' the Womens " Breaſts." This exceedingly terrify'd the People, till they were ſomewhat eas'd by a Declaration of the Lord-General and the Army, directed to the well affected in *Scotland*, to the following Purpoſe: " That being to ad- " vance into *Scotland*, for the Ends expreſs'd " in the Parliament's Declaration; and conſi- " dering the Practices of ſome in that Nation, " whoſe Deſigns were by unjuſt Reproaches " and falſe Slanders to make their Army odi- " ous, and repreſent them as Monſters rather " than Men; therefore, to clear themſelves, " they could do no otherwiſe than remind them " of their Behaviour when they were before " in *Scotland*: What Injury was then done ei- " ther to the Perſons, Houſes, or Goods of " any? Conſidering this, it was hop'd that the " preſent falſe Reports would not affright them " from their Habitations. And they further " declar'd, from the Integrity of their Hearts, " That ſuch of the Gentry and Commonalty, " as inhabited where the Army might come;

A Declaration of the Lord-General *Cromwell* to the well affected in *Scotland*.

1650. "they being none of thoſe who by their Coun-
"ſels laid the Foundation of a ſecond Inva-
"ſion, or clos'd with him who had endea-
"vour'd to engage foreign Princes againſt the
"Common-wealth of *England*, and had exer-
"cis'd actual Hoſtility, by commiſſioning Pi-
"rates to ſpoil the Ships and Goods belong-
"ing thereto; ſhould not have the leaſt Vio-
"lence or Injury offer'd to them, either in
"Body or Goods; or if any ſhould happen,
"upon complaint made, Redreſs and Satisfac-
"tion ſhould immediately be had. Wherefore
"they deſir'd all Perſons to continue in their
"Habitations, aſſuring them they ſhould enjoy
"what they had without any Diſturbance."
Copies of this Declaration were immediately ſent into *Scotland*; and the Country-Folks that came to *Berwick*-Market, had their Pockets fill'd with them, to carry home and diſperſe among their Neighbours.

He proceeds in his Journey.

The General in the mean time leaving *York*, came to *Northallerton*, and the next Day to *Darlington*, where as he paſs'd by, the Train of Artillery, which was quarter'd there, ſaluted him with ſeven Pieces of Ordnance. From hence he poſts to *Durham*, where he was met by Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, who conducted him to *Newcaſtle*, where he was Governour, and entertain'd him there with a great deal of Gallantry. Here the Lord-General and his Officers kept a ſolemn Faſt, to implore the Bleſſing of God upon the preſent Expedition: And then having duly conſider'd the Affairs of the Army, he ſettled a Method for ſupplying it from time to time with Proviſions. This done, he leaves *Newcaſtle*, and haſtens towards *Berwick*; and his Forces being all come up, he on the 20th of *July* caus'd a General Rendezvous of them

them to be on *Haggerſton-Moor*, four Miles from *Berwick*; where he was receiv'd by the Army with great ſhouting and other Signs of Joy. Being all drawn up in Battalia, there appear'd a gallant Body of about five thouſand Horſe and eleven thouſand Foot. The General march'd them two or three hundred Paces, and then diſmiſs'd them to their Quarters, whilſt himſelf went to *Berwick*; whence the Army's Declaration was ſent into *Scotland*, containing the Grounds of their March into that Kingdom; one Copy of it to the *Scotch* General, another to the Parliament, and a third to the Committee of Eſtates. 1650.

The Army being thus quarter'd upon the very Edge of *Scotland*, the Lord-General two Days after, drew them out on a Hill within *Berwick* Bounds; where they had a full Proſpect of the adjacent Country, the Stage whereon they were ſo ſoon to act their Parts. Here he made a Speech to them, declaring the Grounds of their preſent Undertaking, and ſomething in relation to his coming over from *Ireland*, and *the Providence that had deſigned this Command to him*; and exhorting them to be faithful and couragious, and then not to doubt of a Bleſſing from God, and all Encouragement from himſelf. This Speech was anſwer'd with loud and unanimous Acclamations from the Soldiers; who being order'd to march, went on ſhouting as they enter'd *Scotland*. That Night they quarter'd in the Field near the Lord *Mordington*'s Caſtle; where the Lord-General, for the better preſerving good Order and Diſcipline, caus'd Proclamation to be made throughout the Camp, "That none, "on pain of Death, ſhould offer Violence or "Injury to the Perſons or Goods of any

He enters *Scotland*.

1650. "in *Scotland* not in Arms; and withal, that "none on the ſame Penalty, do preſume, with- "out ſpecial Licence, to ſtraggle half a Mile "from their Quarters." From hence they advanc'd for *Coberſpath*, and the next Day arriv'd at *Dunbar*, where they were recruited with Proviſions from the Ships ſent thither from *England* for that Purpoſe: For the Country afforded them none; the *Scotch* Eſtates having taken a Courſe before-hand, to clear all the Country from *Berwick* to *Edinburgh*, of all things that might afford any Succour or Relief to the *Engliſh* Army. But this Entertainment did not in the leaſt diſcourage them, it being no other than they expected.

Arrives at *Dunbar*.

Marches to *Haddington*.

The Army being ſomewhat refreſh'd at *Dunbar*, march'd from thence to *Haddington*, twelve Miles from *Edinburgh*; and all this, without the leaſt Oppoſition, not ſeeing all this while the Face of an Enemy in Arms: Nor did they in all their March ſee one *Scotchman* under ſixty Years of Age, nor any Youth above ſix, and but very few Women and Children; they being all fled from their Habitations, upon their Miniſters telling them, "That the "*Engliſh* would cut the Throats of all be- "tween ſixty and ſixteen Years old, cut off "the right Hands of all the Youths under "ſixteen and above ſix, burn the Womens "Breaſts with hot Irons, and deſtroy all be- "fore them." Whereupon, as the Army march'd thro' ſome Towns, poor Women fell on their Knees, begging that they would not burn their Breaſts before they deſtroy'd them, and Children begg'd them to ſave their Lives; ſo much did the People believe what their Miniſters had told them.

The

The next Day after the Army's Remove to *Haddington*, they underſtood that the Enemy was diſpos'd to give them Battle on a Heath call'd *Gladſmoor*. Whereupon the *Engliſh* endeavour'd to poſſeſs themſelves of the Place before them, that they might have the Advantage of Ground in caſe they ſhould meet them: But the *Scots*, it ſeems, thought not fit to appear. Upon this Major-General *Lambert* and Colonel *Whalley* were order'd to advance with one thouſand four hundred Horſe towards *Muſcleborough*, four Miles from *Edinburgh*; and Major *Hains* commanding the Forlorn, fac'd the Enemy within three Quarters of a Mile of their Trenches. The next Day the Lord-General drew up his whole Army before *Edinburgh*, near which the *Scotch* Army was encamp'd upon a very advantagious Ground. Here ſome Skirmiſhes happen'd about the Poſſeſſion of King-*Arthur*'s-Hill, a Place within a Mile of the City; which the *Engliſh* gain'd, having beaten the Enemy from it; and ſoon after poſſeſs'd themſelves of a Church and ſeveral Houſes. But all theſe Provocations could not prevail on the *Scots* to forſake their Trenches, nor would they by any Means be drawn forth to engage in a general Combat. The Lord-General intended to have made an Attempt upon them; but there fell ſo great a Rain, which continu'd all Night, and part of the next Day, and his Men were ſo wearied out with hard Duty, that he was oblig'd to draw off his Army to *Muſcleborough*, there to refreſh and recruit it with Proviſions. As he drew off, the *Scots*, who labour'd all they could to vex and diſtreſs the *Engliſh* Army, without coming to a general Engagement with them, ſallied out, and falling upon the Rear-Guard,

1650.

Endeavours to draw the Enemy to a general Engagement, but in vain.

Beats them in ſeveral Skirmiſhes.

1650. Guard, put them into ſome Diſorder: But Major-General *Lambert* and Colonel *Whalley* coming in to their Relief, routed the *Scots*, and beat them back into their Trenches. *Lambert* was wounded in the Charge, and had his Horſe kill'd under him; but they took two Colours, and ſeveral Priſoners of the Enemy; whilſt the King ſtood all the while upon the Caſtle and ſaw the Encounter. Some few of the *Engliſh* were kill'd, but far more of the *Scots*, amongſt whom were ſome Perſons of Quality. After this, the *Engliſh* march'd on quietly to *Muſcleborough*, tho' in a very wet and weary Condition. That Night they ſtood upon their Guard, expecting every Moment to be ſet upon by their Enemy; as at laſt they were: For between three and four a Clock in the Morning, Major-General *Montgomery* and Colonel *Straughan*, with fifteen Companies of choice Horſe, fell into their Quarters with ſuch Fury, that they bore down the Guards, and put a Regiment of Horſe in Diſorder. But the *Engliſh* Army taking the Alarm, charg'd them ſo home that they put them to the Rout, and purſu'd them within half a League of *Edinburgh*, killing ſeveral Officers and Soldiers, and taking many Priſoners. The *Scots*, when they fell firſt upon the *Engliſh*, cry'd out, *Give no Quarter, but kill all*; and particularly they refus'd to give Quarter to one Captain *Phineas*, whom notwithſtanding the *Engliſh* brought off. There were two Miniſters in the *Scotch* Party, and one of them was taken Priſoner; and 'tis ſaid the *Scotch* Soldiers confeſs'd, *that the Miniſters did moſt ſtir them up to Cruelty.* The Lord-General, to ſhew his Generoſity, ſent the chief Officers of the *Scots* who were wounded and taken, in his own Coach,

Retreats To *Muſcleborough.*

Coach, and the reſt in Waggons to *Edinburgh*; which gain'd him great Applauſe, and tended much to vindicate him from thoſe Reports that had been given out of his Cruelty, whereby many had been prejudic'd againſt him. 1650.

Marches again to *Dunbar* for Supplies.

The Army having now well nigh ſpent their Proviſions, the Lord-General retires with them again to *Dunbar*, to meet and take in ſuch freſh Supplies as were ſent thither by Sea, by Order of the *Engliſh* Parliament. Here they receiv'd their Tents and Proviſions from the Ships; and the Inhabitants of *Dunbar* being reduc'd to great Want, the General order'd a great Quantity of Peaſe, and Wheat to the Value of two hundred and forty Pounds, of that which was ſent from *London* to the Army, to be diſtributed among the poor People there. After convenient Supply and Refreſhment, and two Days ſpent in Exhortations to the Army, and in *ſeeking God* for his Bleſſing upon their Action, they again advanced towards *Edinburgh*; where the *Scots* were keeping a ſolemn Thanksgiving for their ſuppos'd great Deliverance, imagining the *Engliſh* Army was quite gone; and the Miniſters gave God thanks, *for turning back the Army of Sectaries by the Way that they came, and putting a Terror into their Hearts, which made them flee when none purſu'd.* But the ſudden Return of the Army to *Muſcleborough* ſoon made them aſham'd of what they had been doing: Tho' it ſeems, *Leſley* was not ſo confident, but expected another Viſit from the *Engliſh*; for upon their Return, they found *Muſcleborough* more forlorn than before, he having commanded, *That the gude Women of the Town, ſhould awe come away with their Gear, and not any ſtay to brew or bake*

Advances again towards *Edinburgh*.

1650. *bake for the* Engliſh *Army, on pain of Death.*

About this time, a Trumpet came to the Army from Lieutenant-General *David Leſley*, with a Declaration of the General Aſſembly, containing the State of the Quarrel in which they were to fight; which they deſir'd might be publickly known, and was to this Effect: "That the General Aſſembly conſidering there "muſt be juſt Grounds of ſtumbling, from "the King's Majeſty's refuſing to ſubſcribe the "Declaration concerning his former Carriage, "and Reſolutions for the future in reference "to the Cauſe of God, the Enemies and "Friends thereof; doth therefore declare, "That the Kirk and Kingdom will not own "any *Malignant* Party their Quarrel or In-"tereſt, but that they will fight upon their "former Principles, for the Cauſe of God and "the Kingdom. And therefore as they diſclaim "all the Sin and Guilt of the King and his "Houſe, ſo they will not own him nor his "Intereſt, any further than he ſhall diſclaim "his and his Father's Oppoſition to the "Work of God, and the Enemies thereof. "And withal, they will with convenient ſpeed "conſider of the Papers ſent to them from "*Oliver Cromwell*, and vindicate themſelves "from the Falſhoods contain'd therein."

His Anſwer to the General Aſſembly's Declaration.

To this the Lord-General thought fit to return them this Anſwer: "That the Army "continu'd the ſame they had profeſs'd them-"ſelves to the honeſt People of *Scotland*, wiſh-"ing to them as to their own Souls; it be-"ing no Part of their Buſineſs to hinder them "in the Worſhip of God according to their "Conſciences, as by his Word they ought: "And that they ſhould be ready to perform "what

" what Obligation lay upon them by the *Co-* 1650.
" *venant*. But that under the Pretence of the
" *Covenant* miſtaken, a King ſhould be taken
" in by them, and impoſed on the *Engliſh*,
" and this call'd *the Cauſe of God and the*
" *Kingdom*; and this done upon the Satisfac-
" tion of God's People in both Nations, as
" alledg'd, together with a diſowning of *Ma-*
" *lignants*, altho' the Head of them be receiv'd;
" who at this very inſtant hath a Party fight-
" ing in *Ireland*, and Prince *Rupert* at Sea on
" a *Malignant* Account; the *French* and *Iriſh*
" Ships daily making Depredations upon the
" *Engliſh* Coaſts, and all by virtue of his Com-
" miſſion; therefore the Army cannot believe,
" that whilſt *Malignants* are fighting and plot-
" ting againſt them on the one ſide, the *Scots*
" declaring for him on the other, ſhould not
" be an eſpouſing of a *Malignant* Intereſt or
" Quarrel, but a mere fighting on former
" Grounds and Principles. If the State of the
" Quarrel be thus, and you ſay you reſolve to
" fight the Army, you will have Opportunity
" to do that; elſe what means our abode here?
" And our hope is in the Lord, *&c.*"

He encamps on *Penetland* Hills.

General *Cromwell* finding he could by no Means provoke the *Scots* to an Engagement, on the 17th of *Auguſt* march'd his Army from *Muſcleborough*, and pitch'd his Tents on *Pencland* Hills, within View of *Edinburgh*. In this March the Enemy drew forth ſeveral Bodies of Horſe and fac'd the *Engliſh*, but came not within Gun-ſhot. The Army being quarter'd on the Hills, the Lord-General ſent out two Troops of Dragoons to poſſeſs themſelves of *Collington*-Houſe. About this time, a Serjeant in Colonel *Cox*'s Regiment and three Soldiers his Aſſociates, were ſentenc'd to be hang'd

1650. hang'd for plundering a Houſe and ſtealing a Cloak; which Sentence was executed on the Serjeant, for a Terror to others; but the other three were pardon'd. So careful was the General to preſerve the Country, according to his Declaration.

On the 18th, the *Scots* drew forth on the *Weſt* Side of *Edinburgh*, between the River *Leith* and the Sea, to the Number of three thouſand Horſe, apprehending the *Engliſh* deſign'd to poſſeſs a Paſs over the ſaid River. The Lord-General ſeeing this, drew out a Forlorn, and went in Perſon before them, to let the Enemy ſee how ready he was to fight. Being come near to their Body, one who knew the Lord-General fir'd a Carbine at him: Upon which, he call'd out and told him, *That if he had been one of his Soldiers, he ſhould have been caſhier'd for firing at that Diſtance.* This was all that was done; for the *Scots* ſtill having no mind to fight, return'd back again to their Quarters. And the next Day, Part of the *Engliſh* Army took the Houſe of *Redhaugh*, belonging to Sir *James Hamilton*. It was a Gariſon ſituate within a Mile and a half of *Edinburgh*, and had about eighty Foot to defend it; and tho' the *Engliſh* ſtorm'd it in the Sight of the Enemy's whole Army, yet no Party came out to relieve it. Threeſcore were taken Priſoners here; and the Place was of great Advantage to the *Engliſh*.

Takes *Redhaugh*.

On the 26th of *Auguſt*, the *Scots* ſent to General *Cromwell*, to deſire a Conference between ſome of themſelves and ſome of his Officers. This being agreed to, and a convenient Place appointed, the Lord *Wariſtoun* Secretary of State, Sir *John Brown*, Colonel *Straughan*, and Mr. *Douglaſs* a Miniſter, with

with ſome others, attended for that Purpoſe. 1650.
The chief Deſign of this Conference, was to wipe off a pretended Aſperſion that was caſt upon them, and ſpread over both Armies, as if they kept themſelves in Trenches and Holes, not daring to fight. And therefore, the better to vindicate themſelves from theſe Calumnies, they aſſur'd the *Engliſh*, "That "when Opportunity ſerv'd, it ſhould be ſeen "that they wanted not Courage to give them "Battle."

Attends the Motions of the *Scotch* Army.

The next Morning the *Scotch* Army, as if they deſign'd ſo ſoon to make good what they had ſaid, drew out upon a March; which the Lord-General *Cromwell* no ſooner obſerv'd, but he prepar'd to meet them, hoping now to have ſome fair play with them. And the Soldiers alſo expected the ſame thing, being overjoy'd at the very Thoughts of engaging; in order to which they immediately took down their Tents, laid aſide their Knapſacks, and put themſelves every way into a fit Poſture to meet and receive their Enemy. But the *Scots*, it ſeems, had ſtill no mind to come to an Engagement; for when the *Engliſh* Army drew near them, they found they were ſeparated from them, by a great Bog and a deep Ditch; ſo that they could not come at them to engage, without running ſuch Hazards as were not neceſſary at that time. All that the Lord-General could do for the preſent, was to thunder againſt them with his Cannon. Both Armies ſtood all that Night in Battalia; and the next Morning, the great Guns roar'd on both Sides for about the ſpace of an Hour; by which one and twenty of the *Engliſh* were kill'd or wounded, but many more of the *Scots*, who, for all that, would not re-

1650. move to any other Ground to engage, nor join in a closer Fight.

Retreats to *Pencland.*

Upon this, the Lord-General *Cromwell* march'd back his Army to their former Quarters on *Pencland* Hills; where they were no sooner arriv'd but they were inform'd, that the *Scots* had sent out a Party to take in *Muscleborough* and *Preston-pans*, thereby to cut off Provisions from the *English* Army. Hereupon the Lord-General gave Orders for the Army to march that Way; which they were very forward to do, as being to fight for their Victuals. But it being a very stormy and tempestuous Night, and very dark, he stay'd their March till the next Morning; when they arriv'd at *Muscleborough* without any Molestation from the Enemy, who in the mean time took Possession of what they had left behind them on *Pencland* Hills; and then dogging them in the Rear, watch'd all Opportunities to distress them.

To *Muscleborough.*

F. Orleans gives us this brief Account of these various Marches of the Lord-General *Cromwell*, in order to bring the *Scots* to an Engagement. "*Cromwell*, says he, whose Interest it was to endeavour to come soon to a Battle, in a Country where his Army found nothing to subsist on, march'd directly towards the Enemy, who lay encamp'd between *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, to cover those two Places, and the Heart of the Country. The cunning *Englishman* try'd all ways to draw *Lesley* to fight; but he understood his Trade, and it being his Interest to protract Time, so to ruin the Enemy's Army, which had neither Ammunition nor Provisions but what came from *England* at a great Charge, and with much

"Diffi-

" Difficulty, he kept himſelf ſo ſtrongly in- 1650.
" trench'd, that *Cromwell* durſt not attack him.
" The *Engliſh* General us'd all the Baits and
" Stratagems, known in War, to oblige the
" *Scot* to fight him; ſometimes drawing him
" towards *Dunbar*, as if he would have be-
" ſieg'd *Edinburgh*, and again moving to get
" between *Sterling* and him. But the *Scot*
" dexterouſly avoided all theſe Snares; and tho'
" the *Engliſh* Army kept up cloſe with him,
" he ſo order'd his Motions, and poſted him-
" ſelf ſo advantagiouſly, that the whole Month
" of *Auguſt* was ſpent in thoſe Counter-mar-
" ches, ſo tedious to a Man of *Cromwell*'s
" Spirit, who could never meet with an Op-
" portunity either to fight in open Field, or
" attack his Enemy in his Camp."

By this means, and by frequent Skirmiſhes and haraſſing the *Engliſh*, the *Scots* hop'd at laſt to tire them out, depending much upon the Diſagreeableneſs of the Climate to their Conſtitutions, eſpecially, if they ſhould keep them in the Field till Winter, which begins betimes in thoſe Parts. And their Counſels ſucceeded according to their wiſh; for by this Time the *Engliſh* Army, thro' hard Duty, want of Proviſions (the Stores brought by Sea being now exhauſted) and the Rigour of the Seaſon, grew very ſickly and diminiſh'd daily; the *Scotch* Army in the mean time increaſing, and continuing in good Heart. The Lord-General reflecting upon the ſad State of his Affairs, and conſidering the weak and crazy Condition of his Army, reſolv'd in this Exigency to retreat with them once more to *Dunbar*. Authors differ as to the Deſign of this March; ſome thinking it was to receive further Supplies from the *Engliſh* Ships; others, that it

1650. was in order to return into *England*; and others again ſuppoſe, that the General intended, by gariſoning *Dunbar*, to lie there ſecurely for ſome time, till they might recover Strength, and receive convenient Recruits both of Horſe and Foot from *Berwick*. The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, "Whether that March was to retire out of ſo barren a Country for Want "of Proviſions, (which no doubt were very "ſcarce; and the Seaſon of the Year would "not permit them to depend upon all neceſſary Supplies by Sea;) or whether that Motion was only to draw the *Scots* from the "advantagious Poſt of which they were poſſeſs'd, is not yet underſtood." And Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, That *Cromwell* being preſs'd by the *Scotch* Army, retir'd to *Dunbar*, where his Ships and Proviſions lay. This ſeems to be very true, and that *Cromwell* was then only on the Defenſive; but whether at his Departure from *Muſcleborough* he had actually deſign'd to return into *England*, does not appear ſo certain: Tho' *Ludlow* tells us, that when the Army came to *Dunbar*, they ſhipped their heavy Baggage and ſick Men, and deſign'd to return into *England*; and others ſay, that *Cromwell* wanting Proviſions, was there ſhipping off his Foot and Cannon, deſigning only the next Day to break through with his Horſe.

To *Haddington.* Whatever the Lord-General's Deſign was, he, in purſuance of the forementiond Reſolution, on the 30th of *Auguſt*, drew out his Army from *Muſcleborough*, and march'd towards *Haddington.* The *Scots* obſerving the *Engliſh* Army to retire, follow'd them cloſe; and falling upon the Rear-Guard of Horſe in the Night, having the Advantage of a clear Moon, beat them up to the Rear-Guard of Foot

Foot. Which alarm coming ſuddenly upon them, put them into ſome Diſorder. But the *Scots*, as ſome ſay, wanting Courage to proſecute the Advantage, and withal, a Cloud overſhadowing the Moon, gave the *Engliſh* an Opportunity to ſecure themſelves and recover the main Body. Being come to *Haddington*, where they were in continual Danger of being aſſaulted by the Enemy, the General order'd a ſtrict Watch to be kept, to prevent the worſt. The *Scots* conceiving they had now a more than ordinary Advantage, about Midnight, attempted the *Engliſh* Quarters on the *Weſt* End of the Town; but were ſoon repuls'd and ſet further off. The next Day, being the firſt of *September*, the *Scots* being drawn up at the *Weſt* End of the Town in a very advantagious Place, the *Engliſh* drew out on the *Eaſt* into an open Field, very fit for both Armies to engage in; where having waited ſome Hours for the coming of the *Scots*, and perceiving that they would not fight but upon an Advantage, they, purſuant to their former Reſolution, march'd away to *Dunbar*. 1650. To *Dunbar*.

The *Scotch* Army follow'd at a convenient Diſtance, being reinforc'd with the Addition of three Regiments; and ſeeing the *Engliſh* lodg'd in *Dunbar*, hover'd about them upon the adjacent Hills like a thick Cloud, menacing nothing but Ruin and Deſtruction, and looking down upon them as their ſure Prey.

The Lord-General was now in great Diſtreſs, and look'd upon himſelf as undone. His Army was in a very weak and ſickly Condition, and in great Want of Proviſions, whereby their Courage alſo was very much abated; whilſt the *Scots* were ſtout and hearty, in Is in great Diſtreſs.

1650. their own Country, and upon very advantagious Ground. And beſides, they more than doubled the *Engliſh* in Number, being about twenty ſeven thouſand, whereas the others were but twelve thouſand. Some ſay they had in their Army about thirty thouſand Horſe and Foot; and the *Engliſh* were reduc'd to ten thouſand at the moſt. General *Cromwell*, with this ſickly Company, was now hemm'd in on every Side by thoſe greater Numbers of his Enemies; who to make ſure Work, had alſo by a ſtrong Party ſecur'd *Coberſpath*, the only Paſs between him and *Berwick*, thereby to hinder all Proviſions or Relief from thence, or to cut off all Retreat from the *Engliſh* Army, who had not above three Days Forage for their Horſes. Thus were they reduc'd to the utmoſt Straits, ſo that they had now no way left, but either to yield themſelves Priſoners, and tamely give up themſelves a Prey to their inſulting Enemies; or to fight upon thoſe unequal Terms, and under thoſe great Diſadvantages.

Calls a Council of War.

In this Extremity the Lord-General on the 2d of *September*, call'd a Council of War, in which, after ſome Diſpute, it was reſolv'd to fall upon the Enemy the next Morning, about an Hour before Day; and accordingly the ſeveral Regiments were order'd to their reſpective Poſts. Here we are told by Biſhop *Burnet*, That *Cromwell* under theſe preſſing Difficulties, call'd his Officers together to ſeek the Lord, as they expreſs'd it: After which, he bade all about him take Heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. Then walking in the Earl of *Roxburgh*'s Gardens, that lay under the Hill, and by proſpective Glaſſes diſcerning a great Motion in the

the *Scotch* Camp; *Cromwell* thereupon ſaid, God is delivering them into our Hands, they are coming down to us. And the Biſhop ſays, that *Cromwell* lov'd to talk much of that Matter all his Life long afterwards. The *Scots*, it ſeems, had now at laſt reſolv'd to fight the *Engliſh*, and to that End were drawing down the Hill, where, if they had continu'd, the *Engliſh* could not have gone up to engage them without very great Diſadvantage. This Reſolution was contrary to *Leſley*'s Opinion; who, tho' he was in the chief Command, had a Committee of the States to give him his Orders, among whom *Wariſtoun* was one. Theſe being weary of lying in the Fields, thought that *Leſley* did not make haſte enough to deſtroy the Army of the Sectaries, as they call'd them. *Leſley* on the other hand told them, that by lying there all was ſure, but that by engaging in Action with brave and deſperate Men all might be loſt; and yet they ſtill preſs'd him to fall on. Many have imagin'd that there was Treachery in all this; but the foremention'd Author ſays, he was perſuaded there was no Treachery in it; only *Wariſtoun* was too hot, and *Leſley* was too cold, and yielded too eaſily to their Humours, which he ſhould not have done. This Reſolution of the *Scots* to fall upon the *Engliſh*, was for ſome time retarded by the unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather; and in the mean while, as we have already obſerv'd, *Cromwell* reſolved to fall upon them. 1650.

Totally routs the *Scotch* Army in the Battle of *Dunbar*.

The Night before the Battle, proving dreadfully rainy and tempeſtuous, the Lord-General took more than ordinary Care of himſelf and his Army. He refreſh'd his Men in the Town, and above all things ſecur'd his Match-Locks againſt

1650. againſt the Weather, whilſt his Enemies neglected theirs. The *Scots* were all the Night employ'd in coming down the Hill; and early in the Morning, being *Tueſday* the third of *September*, before they were put in order, General *Cromwell* drew out a ſtrong Party of Horſe, and falling upon their Horſe-Guards, made them retire. Then immediately his Bodies both of Horſe and Foot advancing, the Fight ſoon grew hot on all Sides; till after about an Hour's Diſpute, the whole numerous Army of the *Scots* was totally routed. Two Regiments ſtood their Ground, and were almoſt all kill'd in their Ranks. The reſt fled, and were purſu'd as far as *Haddington* with great Execution. About four thouſand were ſlain on the Place, and in the Purſuit, and ten thouſand taken Priſoners, many of whom were deſperately wounded. Fifteen thouſand Arms, all the Artillery and Ammunition, with above two hundred Colours were taken; and all with the Loſs of ſcarce three hundred *Engliſh*. Priſoners of note were Sir *James Lumſdale* Lieutenant-General of the Foot, the Lord *Libberton* (who ſoon after dy'd of his Wounds) Adjutant-General *Bickerton*, Scout-Maſter *Campbel*, Sir *William Douglaſs*, the Lord *Grandiſon*, and Colonel *Gourdon*; beſides twelve Lieutenant-Colonels, ſix Majors, forty two Captains, ſeventy five Lieutenants, *&c.* The two *Leſleys* eſcap'd to *Edinburgh*, which upon the News of this Defeat was immediately quitted by its Gariſon, and *Leith* reſolv'd to admit the Conquerors, being not able to keep them out. Thus this formidable Army, which had ſo lately triumph'd in a confident Aſſurance of Victory, was totally defeated and overthrown by one not half ſo numerous, which at the

ſame

ſame time was reduc'd almoſt to the laſt Extremity. But this Extremity making them fix upon ſo firm a Reſolution either to conquer or die, and withal their falling ſo ſuddenly upon the *Scots* when they ſo little expected them, but deſign'd firſt to fall upon them, ſeem to be the true Occaſion of this wonderful Turn of Affairs. The Lord-General himſelf drew up a Narrative of this memorable Victory, and ſent it by a Courier to the Council of State, who order'd it to be read in all the Churches of *London* with ſolemn Thankſgiving: And the Colours taken in this Battle being ſent up to the Parliament, were by their Order hung up as Trophies in *Weſtminſter-Hall.* 1650.

CHAP. IV.

From the Battle of Dunbar, *to the Battle of* Worceſter.

THIS great Succeſs put new Life into the *Engliſh* Soldiers, who by this Means, after having been ſo long toſs'd up and down, almoſt ſpent by hard Duty, and reduc'd to ſuch Extremity, that they were in danger of being ſtarv'd, now met with good Accommodation and Refreſhment, and had an Opportunity to furniſh themſelves with all neceſſary Supplies. Soon after the Battle was over, the Lord-General, the better to improve his Victory, and to ſecure what he had obtain'd, ſent *Lambert* with a ſtrong Party of Horſe and Foot, to attempt *Edinburgh*, the chief City, and ſecure *Leith*, that the *Engliſh* Ships might there the more readily and conveniently ſupply

He takes Poſſeſſion of *Edinburgh.* and *Leith.*

1650. the Army with all Neceſſaries. The *Scots* upon the News of their Army's Defeat, having deſerted *Edinburgh*, *Lambert* on the ſame Day obtain'd a quiet Poſſeſſion of the ſame, as alſo of *Leith*; in both which Places were found ſeveral Pieces of Ordnance, many Arms, and a conſiderable Quantity of Proviſions; which the *Scots* by reaſon of their haſte, could not carry away with them. But tho' the *Engliſh* had thus poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Town of *Edinburgh*, the Caſtle ſtill remain'd in the Hands of the Enemy; which, tho' judg'd impregnable, was at laſt reduc'd by *Cromwell*; as we ſhall ſee in its proper Place.

The Lord-General ſtaid ſome ſmall time at *Dunbar*, to ſettle Matters, and to diſpoſe of the Priſoners; who being ſo numerous, that it ſeem'd as much trouble to keep them as it was to take them, about five thouſand of them, who were moſt ſick and wounded, were ſet at Liberty; and the reſt were driven like Turkies to *Berwick*, by the *Engliſh* Soldiers appointed to convey them thither. Soon after *Lambert* had taken Poſſeſſion of *Edinburgh*, the Lord-General himſelf came up, and caus'd his whole Army to march into that City; which was done without any loſs, ſave that one of the Soldiers had his Arm ſhot off by a Cannon-bullet from the Caſtle. On the *Sunday* following, he ſent a Trumpet to the Caſtle, to acquaint the Governour, that the Miniſters who were with him might return to the Churches, and have free Liberty to preach there, without any Diſturbance; but the Miniſters refuſing to do this, he caus'd *Engliſh* Miniſters to officiate in their Places. In the mean time, all poſſible Diligence was us'd in fortifying *Leith*, it being judg'd to be the beſt and moſt

moſt commodious Sheltring-place the *Engliſh* could have in *Scotland*, for the Winter Seaſon. 1650.

All the chief Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, together with the Committees of the Kirk and State, fled from thence to *Sterling*, where they endeavour'd to ſecure themſelves as well as they could. Hither likewiſe reſorted thoſe who had eſcap'd at *Dunbar*, and did what they could to piece up their ſhatter'd Army, that by a ſecond Encounter they might endeavour to regain their loſt Credit: To which End Recruits were alſo rais'd by the Committee of Eſtates; but it was thought fit to make ſome Change in the Officers, not only in the inferior ones, but alſo in the great Commanders: For old *Leſley*, Earl of *Leven*, was laid aſide with Diſhonour, tho' *David Leſley* was continu'd.

Several Parties in *Scotland*.

But all theſe Methods ſignify'd but little, whilſt the *Scots* were ſo divided among themſelves, and ſplit into ſo many Parties and Factions. The ruling Party was that which was for King and Kirk; tho' theſe were again ſubdivided into *Reſolutioners* and *Proteſtors*. The Reſolutioners were ſo call'd from their adhering to thoſe Reſolutions, which were paſs'd by the Committee of Eſtates, and the Commiſſioners of the Kirk, "That thoſe who had "made Defection, or had hitherto been "too backward in the Work, ought to be admitted to make Profeſſion of their Repen"tance; and then, after ſuch Profeſſion made, "might, in the preſent Extremity, be admit"ted to defend and ſerve their Country." Againſt theſe Reſolutions ſome of thoſe two Bodies proteſted; who together with thoſe who adher'd to them, were call'd the Proteſtors. They alledg'd "That to take in Men of "known

1650. " known Enmity to the Cauſe, was a ſort of " betraying it, becauſe it was putting it in " their Power to betray it; that to admit them " to a Profeſſion of Repentance, was a Profa- " nation and a mocking of God; for that it " was manifeſt, they were willing to comply " with thoſe Terms, tho' againſt their Con- " ſcience, only that they might get into the " Army; and that they could not expect the " Bleſſing of God upon an Army ſo conſti- " tuted." They had a great Advantage over the others as to this Particular; for this mock Penitence was indeed a very ſcandalous Practice. Theſe Proceedings gave Riſe to another Faction, which prevail'd chiefly in the Weſtern Counties; where a great many met, and form'd an Aſſociation apart, as well againſt the King and the Defection in the Kirk Party, as againſt the Army of Sectaries. Theſe were call'd *Remonſtrators*, from their publiſhing a Remonſtrance againſt all the Proceedings in the late Treaty with the King, when, as they ſaid, it was viſible by the Commiſſion he granted to *James Graham* (meaning the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*) that his Heart was not ſincere; and when he took the *Covenant*, they had Reaſon to believe he did it with a Reſolution not to maintain it, ſince in his whole Deportment and private Converſation, he diſcover'd a ſecret Enmity to the Work of God. They imputed the ſhameful Defeat at *Dunbar*, to their prevaricating in theſe things: And concluded, " That therefore, according to " the Declaration of Kirk and State, *Auguſt* " 13. 1650. they diſclaim'd all the Sin and " Guilt of the King and his Houſe, both old " and new; and that they could not own him " nor his Intereſt in the State of the Quarrel betwixt

" betwixt them and the Enemy, againſt whom 1650.
" they were to hazard their Lives." The chief
Leaders of this Party were Colonel *Ker* and
Colonel *Straughan*. Their Remonſtrance being
brought to the Committee of Eſtates at *Ster-*
ling, was after much Debate condemn'd as
diviſive, factious, and ſcandalous; in which al-
ſo the Commiſſioners of the Kirk concurr'd;
but ſo nevertheleſs as, if poſſible, to bring
Ker and his Party over by fair Means; to
which Purpoſe, ſeveral Papers paſs'd between
them, and all Methods were us'd to heal theſe
Diviſions. Beſides theſe, there was another
Party in the *North*, who were purely for the
King, without any Regard to the Kirk.

Various Motions of the Lord-General *Cromwell*.

Whilſt the *Scots* were thus divided among
themſelves, and their Animoſities grew higher
and higher, the Lord-General *Cromwell* was
active with his victorious Forces, which rang'd
at Pleaſure about the Country. Having his
Head-Quarters at *Edinburgh*, and having there
given his Men all neceſſary Refreſhment, he drew
out the greateſt Part of his Army for *Sterling*,
and with them fac'd the Caſtle, having at firſt ſome
Deſign to ſtorm it; but perceiving the Horſe
could not well ſecond the Foot, he chang'd
his Reſolution, and return'd back to *Edin-*
burgh. Whither being arriv'd, he order'd all
the Boats in the *Frith* to be carry'd to *Leith*,
to prevent the *Scots* ferrying over into *Fife* in
order to join with the Enemy there.

In the mean time Preparations were mak-
ing for the Siege of *Edinburgh* Caſtle; in
which the Lord-General having given the ne-
ceſſary Orders and Directions, march'd away
ſix Regiments of Foot, and nine of Horſe
and Dragoons, for *Glaſcow*; and by the Way
of *Linlithgow*, ſent a Paper to the Commit-

tee

1650. tee of Eſtates, to try once more what might be effected by fair Means; a Copy of which was alſo at the ſame time ſent to Colonel *Ker* and *Straughan*, for the ſame Purpoſe. There was little elſe remarkable in this Expedition, but the taking of a ſmall Garriſon near *Kelſith*: And it may be remembred, that when the *Engliſh* came to *Glaſcow*, and ſaw one of the Legs of the late Marqueſs of *Montroſs* hanging over the Gate, they remembring his valiant Actions, took it down and buried it privately.

The Seaſon now admitting of no conſiderable Action, the Lord-General return'd again to *Edinburgh*; where he publiſh'd a Proclamation againſt a Company of ſturdy Fellows, call'd *Moſs-Troopers*, who very much moleſted the Army, and by the Treachery and Connivance of the Country People, kill'd many of the *Engliſh* Soldiers, and grew ſo bold as to ſteal ſome of the Train Horſes. The Proclamation was to this Effect: "That finding many "of the Army were not only ſpoil'd and robb'd "but alſo others barbarouſly butchered and "ſlain, by a Sort of Outlaws, not under the "Diſcipline of any Army; and finding that "all tenderneſs to the Country produced no "other Effect, than their Compliance with, "and Protection of ſuch Perſons: Therefore "conſidering that it is in the Country's Pow-"er to detect and diſcover them; and per-"ceiving their Motion to be ordinarily by "the Invitation and Intelligence of Country "People; he declar'd, That wherever theſe "Enormities ſhould be committed for the fu-"ture, Life ſhould be requir'd for Life, and "a plenary Satisfaction for the Goods thus "ſtoln, of thoſe Pariſhes and Places where "the

He publiſhes a Proclamation againſt the *Moſs-Troopers*.

"the Fact ſhould be committed, unleſs they "did diſcover and produce the Offender." 1650.

Soon after this Proclamation was publiſh'd, Colonel *Monk*, with a commanded Party of Foot, four Pieces of Ordnance, and a Mortar-piece, was ſent to reduce *Derlington*-Houſe, one of the Neſts of theſe *Moſs-Troopers*; which, being join'd by *Lambert*, he ſoon effected, taking all that were within Priſoners; whereof two of the moſt notorious with their Captain, one *Waite*, were preſently ſhot to Death. After this, *Monk* taking with him a Party of ſix hundred Foot, march'd againſt *Roſlan*-Caſtle; where tho' at firſt he met with ſome Reſiſtance, it was quickly ſurrender'd to him.

Monk reduces *Derlington*-Houſe

And *Roſlan*-Caſtle.

The Lord-General, who would not let ſlip any Opportunity, made what uſe he could of the Differences and Diſſenſions that were in *Scotland*, and endeavour'd to improve them to his own Advantage. To this End, he ſent ſeveral times to *Ker* and *Straughan* in the *Weſt* to invite them to come in to him. This had that good Effect, that *Straughan* ſhortly after withdrew himſelf from his Party, and clos'd with the *Engliſh*, leaving *Ker* to command all himſelf. The Lord-General ſtill endeavour'd to draw him over, but all in vain; and having an eſpecial Eye upon this Party, ſince he could not prevail by fair Means, he reſolv'd, notwithſtanding the Difficulty of marching at that time of the Year, to endeavour to reduce them by Force. Accordingly, about the End of *November*, he order'd Major-General *Lambert*, and Commiſſary-General *Whalley*, with five Regiments of Horſe, to march from *Peebles* to *Hamilton*, on the *South* ſide of the River *Clyde*; whilſt himſelf march'd from *Edinburgh* on the *North* Side. Having

Victory over *Ker* and his Party in the *Weſt*.

1650. ſtaid here ſome ſmall Time, till he had good Intelligence where *Lambert* and his Party were; and withal, the Weather being very bad, he march'd back again to *Edinburgh*. *Ker* having Notice of this, as alſo that *Lambert* was at *Hamilton*, thought he had now an Opportunity to ſurprize him: And accordingly ſetting upon a ſudden March in the Night, with about fifteen hundred Horſe, he before Day with great Fury broke into *Lambert*'s Quarters; and meeting with no Reſiſtance at his firſt Entry, he confidently march'd up to the middle of the Town. But a Captain with about forty Soldiers having upon the Alarm ſuddenly mounted, and being favour'd by a Tree that lay croſs the Street, obſtructed their March till the whole Gariſon was alarm'd. The ſuddenneſs of this Attempt put the *Engliſh* into ſome Surprize; but ſoon recovering themſelves, they to make ſure Work of it, left Part of their Forces in the Town, to encounter the Enemy, and to ſecure the Rear, whilſt the reſt drew out with Deſign to ſurround the Enemy's whole Party; who perceiving this in Time, very dexterouſly fac'd about and betook themſelves to Flight. In this Encounter, which was but ſhort, near a hundred of the *Scots* were ſlain, and as many made Priſoners. *Ker* himſelf was wounded and taken, with his Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain-Lieutenant. Thoſe who fled were purſu'd as fair as *Air*, where a Party of a hundred and fifty, being the chief Remains of the *Remonſtrators*, were alſo put to the rout. This Succeſs was the more conſiderable, in that it would have been very difficult to have engag'd them againſt their Will; for they being well acquainted with the Country, and having the Inhabi-

Inhabitants on their ſide, could march about as they pleas'd; whereas 'twould have been very dangerous for the *Engliſh* to have follow'd them without a great Part of their Army; *Leſley* then lying at *Sterling* with the *Scotch* Forces, watching all Advantages. 1650.

The Siege of *Edinburgh*-Caſtle.

This ſeaſonable Victory was ſoon follow'd by the Surrender of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, the moſt conſiderable Strong-Hold in *Scotland*, which was thought impregnable by Situation and Art. It is ſeated upon a high abrupt Rock, has but one Entrance into it, and that both ſteep, and by which but two or three can go a-breaſt, and overlooks and commands all Places about it; ſo that the Lord-General's Men were often very much gall'd in their Quarters at *Edinburgh*, by the great Guns playing from thence.

When General *Cromwell* came firſt before this ſtrong Place, which was ſoon after the Defeat at *Dunbar*, he ſummon'd the Governour, Colonel *William Dundaſs*, to deliver it up to him; which having no Effect, he began to conſult with his chief Officers how to reduce it by Force. Nothing ſeem'd to encourage the attempting of it by Storm; and all probable Ways being debated, it was at laſt reſolv'd, to force it by Mines. In order to this Work, both *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Miners were ſent for, and towards the latter End of *September*, the Galleries were begun in the Night; which the beſieged no ſooner ſaw, but they fell to firing upon it with five great Guns, and ſeveral Vollies of ſmall ſhot. But this prov'd no Impediment to the *Engliſh*, who with indefatigable Labour wrought thro' the Earth, till they came to the main Rock. This put them to a Stand, but did not make them

give

1650. give over; for having contriv'd Ways to make Holes in the Rock, they fill'd them full of Powder, and endeavour'd to make it fly by firing.

But this mining Work going but ſlowly on, the Lord-General fearing it would not anſwer his Deſign, and that he ſhould not be able to blow the Caſtle up into the Air, endeavour'd now to level it with the Ground; and to that End, with mighty Labour and Pains, he rais'd a Battery fortify'd with Gabions and other Contrivances, deſigning to play inceſſantly from thence with Cannons and Mortars. The Governour was very much amaz'd at this, who now began to think it a vain Thing to endeavour to withſtand the *Engliſh* Induſtry; tho' it muſt be ſaid of him, that he did his utmoſt to anſwer the Expectations of thoſe by whom he was entruſted with this important Charge. The Battery, notwithſtanding all Obſtructions, being rais'd to a convenient Height, four Mortar-Pieces and ſix battering Guns were drawn from *Leith*, and forthwith mounted againſt the Caſtle. But before the Word of Command was given, the Lord-General thought fit once more to ſummon the Governour; which he did on the 11th of *December*, in the following Terms; "That he being reſolv'd by God's Aſſiſtance "to uſe ſuch Means as were put into his "Hands for the reducing of the Caſtle, did, "for preventing further Miſery, demand the "rendring of the Place to him upon fit Con-"ditions." To this the Governour return'd this Anſwer, "That being entruſted by the "Committee of Eſtates of *Scotland*, for the "keeping of the Caſtle, he could not deliver "it up without leave from them: And there-"fore he deſir'd ten Days Time to ſend to them

them and receive their Anſwer; upon Re- 1650.
" ceipt whereof the General ſhould receive
" his reſolute Anſwer." But the Lord General knowing his Time was precious, made this ſudden Reply, " That it concern'd not him " to know the Obligations of them that truſted " him; but that he might have honourable " Terms for himſelf, and thoſe that were with " him: But he could not give Liberty to " him to conſult with the Committee of E- " ſtates, becauſe he heard thoſe among them " that were honeſt, enjoy'd not Satisfaction, " and the reſt were now diſcover'd to ſeek " another Intereſt than they had formerly pre- " tended to; in which, if he deſir'd to be ſa- " tisfy'd, he might have Information at a near- " er Diſtance than St. *Johnſtown*."

'Twas deſign'd, that this Parley ſhould continue till ten in the Morning, *December* 13. but ſome great Shot flying from the Caſtle the Night before, Order was given the next Morning to try the Mortar-pieces, three with Shells, and the fourth with Stones. Which being done accordingly, the Governour thereupon return'd an Anſwer to the General's laſt Meſſage; in which " He adjur'd him in the " Fear and Name of the living God, (which " was call'd upon in the Acceptance of his " great Truſt) that Liberty might be granted " for him to ſend to the Committee of E- " ſtates; and ſaid, that he ſhould be very " willing to receive Information from thoſe " of his Country-Men whom he could truſt." " To this the Lord General reply'd, That who- " ſoever he would appoint to come to him, " ſhould have Liberty for one Hour; but to " ſend to the Committee of Eſtates, he could " not grant." The Governour took no no-

1650. tice of this, till the Mortar-pieces and great Guns had for ſome ſmall time play'd with great Violence againſt the Caſtle. This mov'd him to ſend forth a Drum, deſiring a Conference with the Provoſt of *Aberdeen*, and one more then in *Edinburgh*; to which the General readily conſented: But they knowing it to be an Affair of the utmoſt Importance, abſolutely refus'd to concern themſelves in it, leaving the Governour to take his own Courſe. Hereupon *Dundaſs* was in great Perplexity, and knew not well what to do; till having revolv'd the Matter a little in his Mind, he at laſt came to this Reſult, to acquit himſelf manfully in the Defence of the Place. Accordingly a red Enſign was immediately hung out in Defiance on the top of the Caſtle, and the great Guns began to roar from the Battlements of the Wall. Upon this, the Lord Geveral thought it high time for him to exert his utmoſt Force; and accordingly ſent in upon them ſuch continued Showers of Shot, that the Governour in a ſhort Time thought fit to beat a Parley, and offer'd to ſurrender if his former Requeſt, of ſending to the Committee of Eſtates, might be granted. But this being ſtill refus'd, *Dundaſs* and his Soldiers thought it not good to hold out any longer againſt ſuch violent Aſſaults; and ſo entring upon a Treaty with the Lord-General, came to an Agreement upon theſe Articles: "*Firſt*, "That the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, the Cannon, "Arms, Ammunition, Magazines, and Furni- "ture of War, be deliver'd up to the Lord "General *Cromwell*. *Secondly*, That the *Scots* "have Liberty to carry away their publick "Regiſters, publick Moveables, private Evi- "dences and Writs, into *Fife* or *Sterling*. *Thirdly*,

'Tis ſurrender'd to *Cromwel*.

" *Thirdly*, That as to thoſe Goods in the Ca- 1650.
" ſtle belonging to any Perſon whatſoever, the
" Owners ſhould have them reſtor'd to them:
" This to be proclaim'd, that all might take
" notice of it. *Fourthly*, That the Governour,
" and all military Officers, and Soldiers, might
" depart without Moleſtation, carrying their
" Arms and Baggage, with Drums beating
" and Colours flying, to *Bruntiſland* in *Fife*:
" Moreover, the ſick and wounded Soldiers to
" ſtay in *Edinburgh* till cured, and then to re-
" ceive the ſame Benefit of Articles with the
" reſt of their Fellows."

According to theſe Articles, this ſtrong Caſtle, which gloried in its Virginity, as having never before yielded to any Conqueror, was after a Siege of three Months, deliver'd up to the victorious *Cromwell* on the 24th Day of *December*; whereby there alſo fell into his Hands fifty three Pieces of Ordnance, ſome of them remarkable both for Size and Beauty, eight thouſand Arms, fourſcore Barrels of Powder, and all the King's Hangings, Tapeſtry and Jewels. The ſubduing of this Place was a Thing ſo unexpected by ſeveral, that the *Scots* cry'd out, *That* Cromwell *took it only by Silver Bullets.* But what appear'd moſt ſtrange to others, and which made well on General *Cromwell*'s ſide, was, That the *Scotch* Army, which lay not very far off, ſhould never attempt the Relief of this moſt important Place.

The main Buſineſs the *Scots* were now intent upon, was the Coronation of the King; which had been long delay'd by the Kirk and States, that he might have Time to *humble himſelf for his Father's Sins and his own Tranſgreſſions.* But the vigorous Proceedings The King crown'd at *Scone.*

1650. of the *Engliſh*, put them at laſt upon haſtening that which they of themſelves were backward enough in. The firſt of *January* was appointed for this Solemnity; which was perform'd at *Scone*, with the greateſt Pomp and Magnificence that the preſent State of the Nation was capable of. His Majeſty having ſubſcrib'd both the Covenants, the Marqueſs of *Argyle* ſet the Crown upon his Head; at which the People expreſs'd their Joy by their loud Acclamations of *God ſave King* Charles *the Second*. The main Deſign now was to form ſuch an Army, as might not only ſecure what they had ſtill in their Hands, but drive the *Engliſh* (whom they now call'd the *common Enemy*) quite out of their Country. To effect this, all Perſons were now promiſcuouſly admitted into the Army, Commiſſions were granted for raiſing Horſe and Foot, and new Commanders were appointed. His Majeſty ſet up his Royal Standard at *Aberdeen*, to which great Numbers of Volunteers and honorary Soldiers flock'd from all Parts. From thence he march'd to *Sterling*; where having muſter'd his Army, he made Duke *Hamilton* his Lieutenant-General, *David Leſley* Major-General, *Middleton* Major-General of the Horſe, and *Maſſey* General of the *Engliſh* Troops.

The Lord General *Cromwell* obſerving theſe Proceedings, was very little concern'd at them. However, to make ſure Work, he endeavour'd to poſſeſs himſelf of all thoſe Gariſons of the *Scots*, which were on the *South* ſide of the *Frith*. To this End, he order'd Colonel *Fenwick* with his own Regiment, and Colonel *Syler*'s, to reduce *Hume* Caſtle under his Obedience. *Fenwick* immediately upon his receiving theſe Orders, apply'd himſelf accordingly to the

Colonel *Fenwick* reduces *Hume* Caſtle.

the Work; and having drawn his Men up before the Caſtle, ſent a Summons to the Governour, as follows: "His Excellency, the "Lord-General *Cromwell*, hath commanded "me to reduce this Caſtle you now poſſeſs, "under his Obedience; which if you now de- "liver into my Hands, for his Service, you "ſhall have Terms for your ſelf and thoſe "with you: If you refuſe, I doubt not but "in a ſhort Time, by God's Aſſiſtance, to "obtain what I now demand. I expect your "Anſwer by ſeven of the Clock to morrow "Morning, and reſt your Servant, *George Fen-* "*wick.*" 1650.

The Governour, whoſe Name was *Cockburn*, being, as it ſeems, a Man of Fancy, return'd him this quibbling Anſwer: "Right honourable, "I have receiv'd a Trumpeter of yours, as he "tells me, without a Paſs, to render *Hume* "Caſtle to the Lord General *Cromwell*: pleaſe "you, I never ſaw your General. As for "*Hume* Caſtle, it ſtands upon a Rock. Given "at *Hume* Caſtle this Day before ſeven a "Clock. So reſteth, without prejudice to my "native Country, your moſt humble Servant, "*Th. Cockburn.*" But the Governour did not long continue in this merry Humour: For *Fenwick* having planted a Battery againſt the Caſtle, and made a ſmall Breach, as the *Engliſh* were juſt ready to enter, *Cockburn* beat a Parley. But the Colonel would now allow only Quarter for Life; which being accepted, the Governour with his Gariſon, being ſeventy eight Commanders and private Soldiers, march'd out of the Caſtle; which Captain *Collinſon* with his Company immediately enter'd, to keep it for the Parliament.

1650. Colonel *Monk* was alſo detatch'd with about three Regiments of Horſe and Foot, to reduce *Tantallon* Caſtle. Being come before it, he found the *Scots* very refractory; whereupon he caus'd the Mortar-pieces to play for eight and forty Hours: But theſe did little Execution; till ſix battering Guns being planted, were ſo well manag'd, that the Governour and thoſe that were with him were forc'd to ſubmit to Mercy.

Colonel *Monk* reduces *Tantallon*-Caſtle.

1651. The King having now got ſome Authority, viſited all the Gariſons in *Fife*, and endeavour'd to put them into ſuch a Poſture as to hinder the *Engliſh* from landing on that ſide the *Frith*. To this End alſo he drew from *Sterling* ſuch Horſe and Foot as could be well ſpar'd, and quarter'd them all along the Water-ſide. Then he viſited the Highlanders, endeavouring to compoſe the Feuds and Diſſenſions that were amongſt them, and to prevail on them to riſe unanimouſly for him. *Middleton* march'd out of theſe Parts with a conſiderable Body of Horſe and Foot: And about the ſame time, the Town of *Dundee*, as a Teſtimony of their great Reſpect to the King, and to ſhew their forwardneſs in promoting his Intereſt, advanced at their own Charge a compleat well armed Regiment of Horſe, whom they ſent with a ſtately Tent, and ſix Field Pieces with Carriages and Ammunition, as a Preſent to his Majeſty then at *Sterling*; where all being join'd, made up an Army of twenty thouſand Men. And Endeavours were ſtill us'd; for augmenting his Army, for which Purpoſe, the Earl of *Eglanton*, with ſome other Commanders, was ſent into the *Weſt*, to raiſe what Forces they could. Theſe coming to *Dumbarton* to execute their Commiſſions, were ſuddenly ſurpriz'd by a Party of Horſe ſent thither

Proceedings of the King and his Party.

thither by Colonel *Lilburn* for that Purpoſe; 1651.
who took the Earl himſelf, his Son Colonel *Montgomery*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Colborn*, &c. and brought them Priſoners to *Edinburgh*.

Great care of the Parliament in providing Supplies for the Army.

In the mean time, the Parliament of *England* had a ſpecial Regard to their Army in *Scotland*, providing for their Welfare in all Reſpects. They took Care to procure ſufficient Supplies both of Men, Money and Proviſions, which they were continually ſending away to them; ſo that never was any Army better provided for than this, as no Soldiers ever deſerv'd better Encouragement than theſe. Particularly, Admiral *Dean* arriv'd about this time at *Leith* with large Supplies from *London*; and amongſt other Conveniencies, brought along with him ſeven and twenty great flat-bottom'd Boats, for tranſporting the Army over into *Fife*. And not long after, Captain *Butler* arriv'd at the ſame Place in the *Succeſs* (a ſtout Ship formerly taken from the *French*) with eighty thouſand Pounds for the Payment of the Soldiers.

The Sickneſs of the General.

The Lord General *Cromwell* had for ſome Time labour'd under a very great Indiſpoſition, occaſion'd by the unſuitableneſs of the Climate and the extreme Rigour of the Winter Seaſon in thoſe Parts. This confin'd him wholly to his Chamber, and utterly diſabled him to act in Perſon with the Army, how great Occaſion ſoever there might be. Now was the *Engliſh* Army under very ſad Apprehenſions; and yet they were not ſo much dejected and diſhearten'd, as the *Scots* were elevated and tranſported at this News; who highly pleas'd themſelves with the very Fancy of his Death, and thereupon readily believ'd the ſlighteſt Report of it to be true; and when

1651. once the Conceit had poſſeſs'd them, could ſcarce by any Means be brought to believe the contrary; ſo that a *Scotch* Trumpeter coming out of *Fife* to *Edinburgh*, about the Reſtoration of a Ship which the *Engliſh* had taken, very confidently affirm'd to the Soldiers, that their General was dead, and ſaid they did well to conceal it, but all the World ſhould not make him believe otherwiſe. This coming to the General's Ear, who was now in a very fair Way of Recovery, to convince the Man of his Miſtake, he order'd him to be brought before him. And the Conceit was ſo ſtrongly fix'd in him, that nothing but this could have remov'd it. However, being now effectually convinc'd, he at his Return aſſur'd thoſe who ſent him of the Falſity of this Report, which had paſs'd ſo currently in the *Scotch* Army. After the Lord General had been ſomewhat recover'd, he fell into a very dangerous Relapſe, which, if he had not been of an extraordinary ſtrong Conſtitution, might have ended his Days. But the Rulers in *England* very much fearing the Loſs of their General, as knowing no Man ſo fit for that high Employment, firſt of all ſent him two eminent Phyſicians, Dr. *Wright* and Dr. *Bates*; and preſently after, diſpatch'd an Order into *Scotland*, permitting him to leave the Buſineſs of the Army, and repair into *England*, for the Recovery of his Health and Strength, as thinking the Air of *Scotland* might be the Occaſion of his Illneſs. Upon the Receipt of this, he wrote a Letter to the Lord Preſident of the Council of State, dated *June* 3d. in which there are ſeveral odd Expreſſions; which whether they were the Effect of *Cromwell*'s real Enthuſiaſm, or of Deſign, becauſe the Humour

mour of the Times ran very much that way, 1651.
I ſhall not determine. The Letter was as follows:

" My Lord, I have receiv'd yours of the
" 27th of *May*, with an Order of the Par-
" liament for my Liberty to return into *Eng-*
" *land*, for change of Air, that thereby I
" might the better recover my Health: All
" which came unto me, whilſt Dr. *Wright* and
" Dr. *Bates*, whom your Lordſhip ſent down,
" were with me. I ſhall not need to repeat
" the Extremity of my laſt Sickneſs: It was
" ſo violent, that indeed my Nature was not
" able to bear the Weight thereof; but the
" Lord was pleaſed to deliver me beyond Ex-
" pectation, and to give me Cauſe to ſay once
" more, *He hath plucked me out of the Grave.*
" My Lord, the Indulgence of the Parliament,
" expreſs'd by their Order, is a very high and
" undeſerved Favour; of which altho' it be fit
" I keep a thankful Remembrance, yet I judge
" it would be too much Preſumption in me
" not to return a particular Acknowledgment.
" I beſeech you, give me the boldneſs to re-
" turn my humble thankfulneſs to the Coun-
" cil, for ſending two ſuch worthy Perſons
" ſo great a Journey to viſit me; from whom
" I have receiv'd much Encouragement and
" good Direction for Recovery of Health and
" Strength, which I find, by the Goodneſs
" of God, growing towards ſuch a State, as
" may yet, if it be his good Will, render me
" uſeful according to my poor Ability, in the
" Station wherein he hath ſet me. I wiſh
" more Steadineſs in your Affairs here, than
" to depend in the leaſt upon ſo frail a Thing
" as I am: Indeed they do not, nor own a-
" ny Inſtrument. *This Cauſe is of God, and*

His Letter to the Council of State.

" *it*

1651. " *it muſt proſper.* Oh that all that have any " hand therein, being ſo perſuaded, would " gird up the Loins of their Minds, and en- " deavour in all things to walk worthy of the " Lord. So prays, my Lord, your moſt hum- " ble Servant, *O. Cromwell.*"

A Presbyterian Plot.

About this time a plot was diſcover'd in *England*, which had been carry'd on by the Presbyterian Party, and chiefly by the Miniſters of that Perſuaſion, in order to promote the Deſigns of their *Scottiſh* Brethren, and help forward his Majeſty's Reſtoration to the *Engliſh* Throne, as a King under ſufficient Limitations, and now in Covenant with them. For this Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Caſe*, and Mr. *Drake*, very eminent Presbyterian Divines, beſides ſome others of the Laity, were apprehended by Order of the Council of State. *Jenkins*, *Caſe*, and *Drake* confeſs'd themſelves guilty, and, that the Party might not be too much irritated, were upon their humble Submiſſion pardon'd. But *Love*, as being more guilty than any of the reſt, was, together with one *Gibbons*, beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, on the 22d of *Auguſt*. He was condemn'd on *July* 5. and the Day of Execution was appointed to be on the 15th, before which Time many Petitions were preſented from himſelf and his Friends to the Parliament, for ſaving his Life, but to no Purpoſe; till on the very Day that was appointed for his Execution, ſeveral Miniſters in and about *London* came to the Houſe, " Praying earneſtly, and in the Bowels of Je- " ſus Chriſt, who when they were Sinners, di- " ed for them, if not totally to ſpare the " Life of their *dear Brother*, that yet they " would ſay of him as *Solomon* of *Abiathar*, " That *at this Time he ſhall not be put to* " *Death.*"

For which *Love* is executed.

"*Death.*" Upon this he was repriev'd for one Month; during which Time, all poſſible Sollicitations were us'd to thoſe in Power, and particular Application was made to the Lord General *Cromwell* in *Scotland*, who ſent back a Letter ſignifying his free Conſent to the Pardon of him: But ſome Cavaliers ſtopping the Poſt-Boy, and ſearching his Packet, with great Indignation tore the Lord-General's Letter, that concern'd Mr. *Love*, as thinking he deſerv'd not to live, who had been ſuch an Incendiary in the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. And ſo the Parliament and Council of State hearing nothing from the General, they took it for granted, that his Silence was deſign'd as an abſolute Denial; upon which *Love* was executed on the foreſaid Day. 1651.

The General prepares for Action.

General *Cromwell* was no ſooner able to ſtir abroad, but with eager Deſire of Action, he conſulted with his chief Officers to carry on the War. For this Purpoſe, it was thought proper to contract their Quarters, by drawing in the Out-Guards or petty Gariſons, which were of little Uſe, and were often very much moleſted by the *Scots*. And now the Army being thus drawn together into one Body, were ſupply'd with thirty three Waggons and Carriages for the Train from *Berwick*; and all Things being in readineſs for the Campaign, the Lord General, on *June* 24th, order'd the Army to advance to *Redhaugh*; where they ſtaid not long, but march'd from thence to *Pencland* Hills, a Place well known to the *Engliſh*. Here they encamp'd in a moſt comely and regular Order; and the Lord General feaſted his Officers in his Tent, with ſeveral of their Ladies, as the Lady *Lambert*, and Major-General *Dean*'s Lady, and many other *Engliſh*

1651. *liſh* Gentlewomen, who came from *Leith* to ſee the Soldiers in their Tents.

He marches towards the Enemy. The Army having continu'd ſome ſmall Time in this Poſture, the Lord General, in order to carry on the preſent Deſign, march'd them away to *Newbridge*, and from thence to *Lithgow*; where from the Battlements of the Caſtle, they could diſcern the Tents of the *Scotch* Army, which lay encamp'd in *Torwood* near *Sterling*; where they were guarded with regular Fortifications, the Horſe in great Bodies lying about them for Security, who were alſo fenced with a River and with Bogs; ſo that the *Engliſh* could not poſſibly drive them out of this Faſtneſs. However, the Lord General, to try whether he could provoke them to come and fight, march'd his Army in Battalia ſo near their main Body, that their Tents might be perfectly ſeen; and ſo ſtood for the ſpace of eight Hours waiting for the coming of the *Scots*; who thinking it better to ſpin out Time, than to put all to the Hazard of a Battle, would not come out to engage. Hereupon, the Lord General drew off his Army to *Glaſcow*, where having ſomewhat refreſh'd his wearied Men, he march'd them back again; and underſtanding that the *Scots* had remov'd their Camp to *Kelſith*, he wheel'd about, and ſhortly after quarter'd his Army at *Monks-land*, within four Miles of the Enemy. But they ſtill refus'd to engage, and the General could not attack them without the greateſt Hazard.

He takes *Calendar*-Houſe. This ſo provok'd him, that he reſolv'd to fall upon Part of their Forces, that defended *Calendar*-Houſe. And ſo on the 15th of *July*, he order'd two battering Guns to be planted, which having play'd with great Violence for

for about eight Hours, at laſt beat down the Wall in ſeveral Places. Notwithſtanding which the Governour expecting Relief from the *Scotch* Army, which lay in ſight of him, reſolv'd to hold out to the utmoſt. Upon which, the Lord General ſent ten Files out of every Regiment, to force them out, ſince they could not be prevail'd on to ſubmit. Theſe brave Fellows having provided themſelves with Faggots, preſently unloaded themſelves into the Enemy's Moat, and ſo ſpringing over into the Breach, in half an Hour's time wholly poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Houſe, having ſlain the Governour with ſixty two of his Men. The *Scotch* Army all this while look'd on, and as if they were not at all concern'd in the Matter, did not ſend one Hand to the Relief of their Friends. 1651.

The Lord General finding that he could by no Means provoke the *Scots* to a Battle, reſolv'd now to bid fair for *Fife*, that thereby he might cut off thoſe Supplies from them, that enabled them to protract Time and prolong the War. Accordingly, immediately after the taking of *Calendar*-Houſe, the valiant Colonel *Overton*, with ſixteen hundred Foot and four Troops of Horſe, put out into the *Forth*, being order'd to land at the *North-Ferry* in *Fife*; which he did in ſpight of thoſe Showers of great and ſmall Shot, that were pour'd upon him as he approach'd the Shoar; in return to which he caus'd his Men to fire upon them out of the Boats; which they did with ſo much Courage and Bravery, that the *Scots* were enforc'd to break off the Diſpute, and betake themſelves to Flight, leaving behind them part of their Arms and Artillery. In the mean Time, General *Cromwell*

kept

1651. kept close up to the *Scots* with the main Body of his Army, intending to fall upon their Rear, in case they mov'd to disturb this Enterprize. However, the King sent Colonel *Brown* and Major-General *Holborn* with four thousand Men to force the *English* out of *Fife* again; but before they could come up to them, *Lambert* and *Okey* had pass'd over the *Forth* with two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, and join'd with *Overton*. And so the *English* with this unexpected Reinforcement falling upon *Brown* and *Holborn*, entirely defeated them, killing two thousand upon the Spot, and taking Prisoners, Major-General *Brown* himself, one Colonel, one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Major, thirteen Captains, seventeen Lieutenants, twenty nine Ensigns, five Quarter-Masters, six and twenty Sergeants, five and twenty Corporals, and above twelve hundred Common Soldiers, with two and forty Colours of Horse and Foot. *Brown* being thus defeated and reduc'd to the Condition of a Prisoner, liv'd not long after; dying, as was thought, of very Grief for this sad Disaster. Thus the *English* got sure footing on the other side of the *Frith*; and this Overthrow prov'd the Bane of the *Scotch* Affairs.

The Battle of *Fife*.

The Fort of *Innesgary* taken.

Soon after this Blow, the *English* took in Garisons almost as fast as they approach'd them. *Lambert* in the first Place came before a strong Fort call'd *Innesgary*, situated in an Isle lying in the *Frith*, betwixt *Queens-Ferry* and the Pass into *Fife*. The Garison here was so terrify'd at the News of the late Overthrow, that being summon'd by *Lambert*, they were content to march away with only their Swords by their Sides, and deliver up the Fort, with all the Arms, Ammunition and Provisi-

ons,

ons, and ſixteen Pieces of Ordnance, to the *Engliſh*. 1651.

The News of the Defeat in *Fife* being brought to the King, who ſtill lay ſtrongly encamp'd in *Torwood*, it occaſion'd ſo great a Conſternation in his Army, that with great Precipitation he decamp'd, and march'd into *Sterling*-Park. General *Cromwell* follow'd ſpeedily after them in the Rear, and marching over the Ground where they ſo lately lay, he perceiv'd with what a pannick Fear they had been ſeiz'd: For they had left behind them all their ſick Men, one Barrel of Powder, three of Ball, a great deal of Match, many Muſquets, and three Barrels of Hand-Granadoes. The Lord-General follow'd them within two Miles of *Sterling*, endeavouring to provoke them to an Engagement, but all in vain, they making all the haſte they could to ſecure themſelves. Hereupon the General, perceiving it was to no purpoſe to continue here, on the 22d of *July*, march'd away his Army to *Lithgow*; from whence he caus'd the greateſt Part of them to be tranſported over into *Fife*, with the Train of Artillery, in order to carry on the War on the other Side of the Water. The General himſelf retir'd to *Leith*, to provide for the Supply of his Soldiers; and here he receiv'd the welcome News of the Surrender of *Bruntiſland* to *Lambert*; who having brought the Army before it, the Governour of the Place was ſo diſmay'd, that after a ſhort Parley he deliver'd it up on theſe Conditions: "*Firſt*, That the Soldiers in Gari- "ſon (being about five hundred) ſhould march "away with flying Colours. *Secondly*, That "the Inhabitants of the Town ſhould have "what belong'd to them. *Thirdly*, That all "Proviſions

General *Cromwell* follows the *Scotch* Army.

Bruntiſland ſurrender'd to *Lambert*.

1651. "Proviſions of War, together with all Guns and "Shipping of War, ſhould be deliver'd up for "the Uſe of the Common-wealth of *England*." This Place was of great Advantage to the *Engliſh*; for it being a very commodious Harbour, the Army might from thence, in the Courſe of their Conqueſts, have continual Supplies of all that was neceſſary and convenient for them.

The General paſſes over into *Fife*.

General *Cromwell* finding ſettled Matters at *Leith*, immediately croſs'd the *Frith* to his Army, which was then at *Bruntiſland*; and ſo diſpatching *Whalley* to reduce the ſmaller Gariſons upon the Coaſt of *Fife*, and leaving Colonel *Weſt*'s Regiment in *Bruntiſland*, he with the reſt of the Army and Train of Artillery, on the 30th of *July*, march'd away towards St. *Johnſtown*; that by reducing that important Place under his Power, he might prevent the *Highlanders* from ſending any Supplies, either of Men or Proviſions, to *Sterling*. Being come before it, he ſent this Summons to the Town, "That being inform'd the Town was void of "a Gariſon, ſave the Inhabitants and ſome "few Country-Men, he requir'd them to de-"liver the ſame to him immediately; promi-"ſing to ſecure their Perſons from Violence, "and their Goods from Plunder." The Meſſenger who carry'd this Summons, was, contrary to the Expectation of the *Engliſh*, deny'd Admittance, and came back with this ſhort Reply from the Townſmen, *That they were not in a Capacity to receive any Letters.* But to excuſe the Matter, the Magiſtrates ſoon ſent after him a Meſſage, declaring, "That "the King's Majeſty had ſent a very ſtrong "Party, able to maintain the Town, and o-"verpower them with a Governour: But al-

He takes St. *John's*-Town.

"ways

" ways to obſerve Civility with his Lordſhip, 1651.
" they had obtain'd leave from the Governour to
" excuſe themſelves, by ſhewing how unable they
" were to treat." It ſeems, the Lord *Duffus* had the Day before enter'd the Town with thirteen hundred Men; but the Lord-General, upon his Refuſal of the new Summons which he ſent him, having drain'd the Water out of the Motes round about the Town, and batter'd the Walls with his Cannon, oblig'd him to ſurrender in a Day's Time.

The King in great Perplexity.

Theſe wonderful Succeſſes which attended the *Engliſh* Arms, threw the King's Affairs in *Scotland* into great Perplexity and Diſtreſs; whereupon he began to think of making an Irruption into *England*. He was now much nearer *England* than General *Cromwell*, who could not poſſibly overtake him, till after his Majeſty had been ſome Days March before him. His Fate depended upon the Succeſs of one Battle; and he had Reaſon to believe, that all the Northern Parts of *England* were well affected to him; whither if he could once reach, he might hope to encreaſe his Army by the Acceſſion of ſuch Men as would render it much more conſiderable. Upon this, it was reſolv'd, that the Army ſhould with all poſſible Expedition advance into *England*, by the neareſt Ways that led into *Lancaſhire*, whither his Majeſty ſent Expreſſes to his Friends in thoſe Parts, that they might have their Soldiers in a Readineſs to receive him. He alſo ſent an Expreſs to the Earl of *Derby*, who was then in the Iſle of *Man*, requiring him to meet him in *Lancaſhire*. The Marqueſs of *Argyle* was the only Perſon who diſſuaded the King from marching into *England*, and that with no inconſiderable Arguments; but the contrary Opinion prevailing, *Argyle* retir'd to

1651. his Houſe in the *Highlands*: And ſo, on the laſt Day of *July*, the King began his March from *Sterling*, and on the 6th of *Auguſt* enter'd *England* by the Way of *Carliſle*, with an Army of about ſixteen thouſand Men.

His Army enters *England*.

The Noiſe of this ſudden Invaſion gave a moſt terrible Alarm to the whole Nation, eſpecially to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, who were ſtill more diſmay'd at the Reports of the greatneſs of the King's Army, and his Deſign of mounting his Foot Soldiers, and advancing directly to *London*. They were now ready to paſs ſevere Cenſures on the Lord General *Cromwell*, and condemn'd him of Raſhneſs and Precipitation; whilſt he in the mean time took care to ſatisfy them as well as he could, and aſſur'd them, "That he would overtake the E-"nemy, and give a good Account of them, "before they ſhould give them any Trou-"ble." Accordingly, that he might loſe no Time, he order'd Major-General *Lambert* "To "follow the King immediately with ſeven or "eight hundred Horſe, and to draw as many "others as he could from the Country Mili-"tia; and to moleſt the King's March as "much as poſſible, by being near, and ob-"liging him to march cloſe; not engaging his "own Party in any ſharp Actions, without a "very manifeſt Advantage, but keeping him-"ſelf entire till he ſhould come up to him."

General *Cromwell* ſends *Lambert* after him.

The Parliament alſo exerted themſelves to the utmoſt on this Occaſion. The Militia of moſt Counties was order'd to be drawn into the Field, to obſtruct the King's March. Two thouſand out of *Staffordſhire*, and four thouſand out of *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*, under the Command of Colonel *Birch*, join'd with *Lambert* and *Harriſon*. The Lord *Fairfax* drew

The Parliament's Proceedings againſt him.

out into the Field with a formidable Body to flank the King's Army; the Militia of the City of *London* was commanded out, and all the adjacent Counties were ſtrictly enjoin'd by the Parliament to ſet out Horſe and Men at their own Charges. An Act was alſo publiſh'd, wherein it was declar'd, "That no Perſon "whatſoever ſhould preſume to hold any Cor- "reſpondence with *Charles Stuart*, or with his "Party, or with any of them, nor give any "Intelligence to them, nor countenance, en- "courage, abet, adhere to, or aſſiſt any of "them; nor voluntarily afford, or cauſe to "be afforded or deliver'd unto any of them, "any Victuals, Proviſions, Ammunition, Arms, "Horſes, Plate, Money, Men, or any other "Relief whatſoever, under Pain of High- "Treaſon: And that all Perſons ſhould uſe "their utmoſt Endeavours to hinder and ſtop "their March. 1651.

The Lord General *Cromwell* being now ready to march into *England* in purſuit of the *Scotch* Army, endeavour'd to ſettle the Affairs of *Scotland* in ſuch a Poſture, as effectually to ſecure what was already obtain'd; and gave all the neceſſary Orders to Lieutenant-General *Monk*, whom he reſolv'd to leave behind him with a ſtrong Party of Foot, and ſuch Troops of Horſe, as might be able to quell any Forces which ſhould riſe after his Departure. This done, the victorious *Cromwell*, with the Remainder of the Army, march'd out of *Scotland*, and on the 12th of *Auguſt* croſs'd the *Tine*: With which ſwift March being quite wearied out, he caus'd the Army to pitch their Tents on *Ryſon Haugh*, upon the Brink of the *Tine*, whilſt himſelf took up his Quarters at *Stelly*-Houſe, not far from his Soldiers.

The General leaving *Monk* in *Scotland*, marches into *England*.

1651. The Mayor of *Newcaſtle* underſtanding that the Army was near the Town, immediately went out, accompany'd with the reſt of the Magiſtrates, to congratulate the Lord-General's Arrival in *England*; and that they might be the more welcome to the Soldiers, carry'd along with them, Bread, Cheeſe, Bisket, and Beer, for the Refreſhment of the Army. Theſe Supplies were very ſeaſonable, and enabled the Soldiers chearfully to continue their March.

The March of the *Scots*.

The *Scots* in the mean time by a ſwift March went on in Proſecution of their preſent Deſign. The King led them thro' *Lancaſhire*, where at the Head of his Army he was in all the Market-Towns he paſs'd thro' proclaim'd King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*. But he met not with that Encouragement which he expected; for beſides that the *Scots* daily deſerted him, the Country did not come in to him as he believ'd they would, being continually obſtructed by the Forces of the Common-wealth, which ſpread themſelves over all Places. The King with his Army march'd on towards *Warrington* in *Cheſhire*, the Paſſage of which Bridge was ſharply conteſted by *Lambert* and his Party, but was at laſt obtain'd by the King, the *Scots* as they fell on, crying out, *Oh you Rogues, we will be with you before your* Cromwell *comes*. The King reſolv'd to continue his March with the ſame Expedition as he had us'd hitherto, till they ſhould come to ſuch a Poſt where they might ſecurely reſt themſelves; which the poor Soldiers very much deſir'd, being extremely fatigu'd with the Length of their March and the Heat of the Seaſon. His Majeſty hoping the Intereſt that Major-General *Maſſy* had in *Gloceſterſhire*,

ſhire, would draw a great many in to him from thoſe Parts, reſolved to direct his March that Way. At laſt looking upon *Worceſter* as a proper Place, he determin'd to ſettle there with his Army, and accordingly, on the 23d Day of *Auguſt*, he enter'd that City with very little Oppoſition; where he reſolv'd to abide, and expect the coming of his Enemy; and that he might not be wanting in any Thing, that might tend to the Preſervation of Himſelf and Forces, he order'd Works to be rais'd for better Security. Then he ſent a Summons to Colonel *Mackworth* Governour of *Shrewsbury*, inviting him to yield up that Gariſon to him; to which the Governour return'd a peremptory Denial. He alſo ſent Letters to Sir *Thomas Middleton*, to raiſe Forces for him in *Montgomery-ſhire*; but Sir *Thomas* detain'd the Meſſenger Priſoner, and ſent up the Letter to the Parliament. A Day or two after the King had taken up his Quarters in *Worceſter*, he receiv'd the melancholly News of the Defeat of the Earl of *Derby*. This brave Man was the only Perſon, who made any conſiderable attempt to ſupport the King. He got together a Body of fifteen hundred Horſe; but before he could join the King's Army, Colonel *Lilburn* ſet upon him near *Wiggan*, and entirely routed him. The Earl himſelf being wounded, retreated into *Cheſhire*, with about eighty Horſe, and from thence to the King at *Worceſter*.

1651.

They come to *Worceſter*.

In the mean time, General *Cromwell* having refreſh'd his Soldiers near *Newcaſtle*, immediately march'd away by *Rippon*, *Ferry-brigs*, *Doncaſter*, *Mansfield*, and *Coventry*; and at *Keinton* join'd with the reſt of the Parliament's Forces, under Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major General *Deſborough*, the Lord *Grey* of

General *Cromwell* marches after them.

1651. *Groby*, Major General *Lambert* and Major General *Harriſon*; making in all about thirty thouſand Men. The Commonwealth had indeed by their new Levies encreas'd their Forces to a prodigious Number; and *England* never before produc'd ſo many Soldiers in ſo ſhort a time: For the ſtanding Army, with thoſe other Forces newly rais'd by Act of Parliament, upon this occaſion, are ſaid to have amounted to above ſixty thouſand Men.

The Lord General being come up, and having obſerv'd the Poſture of the Enemy's Army, began with an Attempt upon *Upton-Bridge*, ſeven Miles from *Worceſter*, deſigning there, if poſſible, to paſs over his Army. *Lambert* was appointed to manage this Affair, who immediately detach'd a ſmall Party of Horſe and Dragoons, to ſee how feaſible the Enterprize might be. This Party coming to the Bridge, found it broken down, all but one Plank. Over this theſe daring Fellows paſs'd, who finding the *Scots* took the Alarm, preſently betook themſelves to a Church for Security. Hereupon *Maſſey*, who lay at *Upton* with about ſixty Dragoons, and two hundred Horſe, gave a Camiſado on the Church; but Major General *Lambert* having in the mean time paſs'd over a new ſupply of Horſe, fell furiouſly upon the Enemy's Party, and over-powering them, forc'd them to a Retreat; which *Maſſey* ſupported with ſo much Bravery, that ſometimes facing, then fighting, and ſo falling off, himſelf brought up the Rear, and never quitted his Station, till he arriv'd with his Men at *Worceſter*. In this Encounter his Horſe was kill'd under him, and he receiv'd a ſhot in his Arm. The Bridge being thus gain'd, all poſſible Induſtry was us'd to make it up; ſo that Lieutenant General

Fleet-

Fleetwood's Army quickly paſs'd over; which 1651.
ſtill marching forward, they laid a Bridge over the *Teame*, which falls into the *Severn*, about a Mile beneath *Worceſter*: And the General, in the mean time, caus'd a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the *Severn* on his ſide; and this for the better Conjunction of the Army, and that the Enemy might be the more ſtraitned.

The *Scots* drawing out to oppoſe the Lieutenant General's paſſage, the Lord General reſolv'd to divert their Deſign, or to oblige them to fight on great Diſadvantage: To which end, himſelf in Perſon led over the River two Regiments of Foot, Colonel *Hacker*'s Horſe, and his own Life-guard, on that ſide of *Worceſter*, which he deſign'd to attack. Whilſt this was doing, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, aſſiſted by Colonel *Goff*'s and Major General *Dean*'s Regiments of Foot, maintain'd a brave Fight from Hedge to Hedge, which the *Scots* had lin'd thick with Muſqueteers, judging that to be the ſafeſt Way. And indeed they ſtoutly maintain'd their Ground, till Colonel *Blake*'s, *Gibbons*'s and *Marſh*'s Regiments came in and join'd with the others againſt them; upon which they retreated to *Powick-Bridge*, where they were again engag'd by Colonel *Hains*, *Cobbet* and *Matthews*; and perceiving they were not able to prevail, they thought fit at laſt to ſecure themſelves by flying into *Worceſter*.

Preſently after, the King calling a Council of War, it was reſolv'd to engage General *Cromwell* himſelf. Accordingly, they on a ſudden ſally'd out againſt him with ſo much Fury, that his invincible Life-guard could not ſuſtain the Shock, but was forc'd to retire in ſome Diſorder; and his Cannon likewiſe were for ſome time in the Power of the King's Par-

1651. ty: But Multitudes of freſh Forces coming in, at laſt turn'd the Scale on *Cromwell*'s ſide. The Battle continued for three or four Hours with great fierceneſs and various Succeſs, till the *Scots* being over-power'd by *Cromwell*'s ſuperior Force, were totally routed, flying away in great Confuſion to ſecure themſelves. The Horſe made as faſt as they could back again towards the *North*; but the Foot ran into the City, being cloſely purſu'd by ſome of the Conquerors, who furiouſly flew thro' all the Streets, doing ſuch terrible Execution, that there was nothing to be ſeen for ſome time but Blood and Slaughter. As ſoon as the Lord General had forc'd his Way thro' *Sudbury-Gate*, whilſt this Party were killing and ſlaying all they met with, he with ſome Regiments ran up to the *Fort-Royal*, commanded by Colonel *Drummond*; and being juſt about to ſtorm, he firſt ventur'd his Perſon thro' whole ſhowers of Shot, to offer the *Scots* Quarter, if they would preſently ſubmit, and deliver up the Fort; which they refuſing, he ſoon reduc'd it by Force, and without Mercy put them all to the Sword, to the number of fifteen hundred Men. In the mean time very conſiderable Parties were ſent after the flying Enemy, and the Country every where roſe upon them. The ſlain in this Battle were reckon'd about four Thouſand, and the Priſoners taken in the Fight and in the Purſuit amounted to about ten Thouſand; ſo that near all was loſt. The chief of the Priſoners were Duke *Hamilton* (Brother of the late Duke) who died ſoon after of his wounds; the Earl of *Derby*, who not long after was ſentenc'd to Death, and loſt his Head at *Bolton*; the Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Carnwarth*, *Rothes*, and *Kelly*; the Lord *Sinclare*, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Charles Cunningham*,

He totally defeats them in the Battle of *Worceſter*.

ningham, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Major General *Montgomery*, Major General *Piſcotty*, Mr. *Richard Fanſhaw* Secretary to the King, the General of the Ordnance, the Adjutant-General of the Foot; beſides ſeveral Colonels, and other inferior Officers. There were alſo taken all their Artillery and Baggage, a hundred and fifty eight Colours, the King's Standard, his Coach and Horſes, and ſeveral other Things of great Value. The King eſcap'd after a very wonderful Manner; and having wander'd for ſome time about *England*, he at laſt found means to embark, and landed ſafely at *Diep* in *France*. This great Victory, which was juſtly look'd upon as the Deciſion of the grand Cauſe between the King and the Commonwealth, was obtain'd by General *Cromwell* on the third of *September*, the ſame Day twelve Month, that the *Scots* had ſuch a Defeat given them by his Forces at *Dunbar*, as loſt them their Kingdom. The Lord General ſent an Account of this Victory in a Letter to the Parliament; in which there is this remarkable Paſſage: "The Dimenſions "of this Mercy are above my Thoughts: It "is, for ought I know, a crowning Mercy: "Surely, if it be not, ſuch a one we ſhall have, "if this provoke thoſe that are concern'd in it "to thankfulneſs, and the Parliament to do "the Will of him, who hath done his Will "for it, and for the Nation; whoſe good Plea-"ſure is, to eſtabliſh the Nation, and the "Change of the Government, by making the "People ſo willing to the Defence thereof, and "ſo ſignally bleſſing the Endeavours of your "Servants in this late great Work." 1651.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

From the Battle of Worceſter, *to the Diſſolution of the Long* PARLIAMENT.

GENERAL *Cromwell* having given this deadly Blow to the *Scots*, and to all the King's Party, ſtaid no longer at *Worceſter*, than to ſee the Walls of it levell'd with the Ground, and the Dikes fill'd with Earth, thereby to curb the Diſaffection of the Inhabitants, and to prevent their attempting to ſecure any Enemy for the future. This done, he march'd up in a triumphant Manner to *London*, driving four or five Thouſand Priſoners like Sheep before him. Beyond *Aylesbury*, he was met by four Commiſſioners from the Parliament, whom they ſent to pay him all the Marks of Honour and Eſteem. When he came to *Acton*, he was ſolemnly met by the Speaker, and the reſt of the Members, and the Council of State; and ſoon after, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs, and many Perſons of Quality, with the Militia and Multitudes of People; who welcom'd him with loud Shouts and Acclamations, and ſeveral Vollies of great and ſmall Shot. After ſome ſmall Repoſe, on the 16th of *September*, he took his Place in Parliament, where the Speaker made a Speech to him, congratulating his Return after ſo many worthy Atchievements, and giving him the Thanks of the Houſe for his great and faithful Services to the *Commonwealth*. On the ſame Day, he with his chief Officers was feaſted in the City, with all poſſible State and Pomp: And ſoon after

He returns in triumph to *London*.

ter two Acts were drawn up in Honour of him; one for a ſolemn Thankſgiving-Day, and the other for an yearly Obſervation of the third Day of *September* in all the three Kingdoms, with a Narrative of the Grounds thereof. The Parliament likewiſe ſettled four Thouſand Pounds a Year upon him, out of the Eſtates of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, beſides two thouſand five hundred Pounds *per Ann.* formerly granted. 1651.

The Iſles of *Man*, *Jerſey*, *Guernſey*, and *Scilly* reduc'd.

Soon after the Battle of *Worceſter*, the Iſle of *Man* bravely defended by the Heroick Counteſs of *Derby*, and the Iſle of *Jerſey*, that had been long maintain'd by Sir *George Carteret*, were both reduc'd to the Parliament's Obedience. They had long ſince been Maſters of *Guernſey*, except the chief Fort call'd *Cornet-Caſtle*, which had been a great while defended by *Roger Burges* the Governour, but was about the latter end of *October* ſurrender'd by him upon very good Articles. And the *Scilly* Iſles, which had been the chief Harbour for the King's Men of War, were ſome time before reduc'd by a Part of the Parliament's Fleet.

Monk finiſhes the Reduction of *Scotland*.

Major-General *Monk*, whom the Lord General had left in *Scotland*, to perfect the Reduction of that Kingdom, proceeded in his Work with very great Succeſs. Before the Fight at *Worceſter*, he took *Sterling* the chief Strength of the *Scots*; as alſo *Dundee*, with as terrible an Execution as *Cromwell* had before us'd at *Tredagh*; and ſurpriz'd a Convention of the *Scotch* Nobility, among whom was old General *Leſley*, and ſent them Priſoners to *London*. The Example that was made of *Dundee*, occaſion'd ſuch a Terror, that *St. Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, *Dunbarton* and *Dunnoter* Caſtles, with other Towns, Caſtles and Strong-holds, either voluntarily

1651. tarily declar'd for the Conquerors, or ſurrender'd upon Summons. Notwithſtanding this, the *Scots* made one Attempt more under *Middleton*, *Huntley*, *Glencarne*, and others in the *Highlands*: But they were ſoon ſuppreſs'd and diſpers'd by Colonel *Morgan*: So that the *Engliſh* extended their Conqueſts thro' all Parts of the Kingdom, even as far as the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, which now ſubmitted to them.

The State of that Kingdom afterwards.

And here we ſhall diſmiſs the Affairs of *Scotland* for the preſent, with the Remarks that Biſhop *Burnet* makes on the State of that Kingdom, after this abſolute Reduction of it under the Power of the *Engliſh*. "After this, ſays "he, the Country was kept in great Order: "Some Caſtles in the Highlands had Gariſons "put in them, that were ſo careful in their "Diſcipline, and ſo exact to their Rules, that "in no Time the Highlands were kept in bet"ter Order, than during the Uſurpation. "There was a conſiderable Force of about ſe"ven or eight thouſand Men kept in *Scotland*: "Theſe were paid exactly, and ſtrictly diſci"plin'd. The Pay of the Army brought ſo "much Money into the Kingdom, that it con"tinued all that while in a very flouriſhing "State. *Cromwell* built three Citadels, at "*Leith*, *Air*, and *Inverneſs*, beſides many lit"tle Forts. There was good Juſtice done, "and Vice was ſuppreſs'd and puniſh'd; ſo "that we always reckon thoſe eight Years of "Uſurpation a Time of great Peace and Proſpe"rity. There was alſo a ſort of Union of the "three Kingdoms in one Parliament, where "*Scotland* had its Repreſentative. The Mar"queſs of *Argyle* went up one of our Commiſ"ſioners."

Soon

Soon after the Victory at *Worceſter*, General *Cromwell* deſir'd a Meeting with ſeveral Members of Parliament, and ſome of the principal Officers of the Army, at the Speaker's Houſe; where, as *Whitelock*, who was one of the number, acquaints us, he propos'd to them, "That now the old King being dead, and his "Son defeated, he held it neceſſary to come "to a Settlement of the Nation: In order to "which he had requeſted this Meeting, that "they together might conſider and adviſe, "what was fit to be done, and to be preſented to the Parliament." 1651. General *Cromwell* holds a Conference to conſider of a Settlement.

What paſs'd hereupon in this Conference, we ſhall ſet down as we find it in *Whitelock*. *Lenthall* the Speaker began thus: "My Lord, "this Company were very ready to attend your "Excellency; and the Buſineſs you are pleas'd "to propound to us, is very neceſſary to be "conſider'd. God hath given marvellous Succeſs to our Forces under your Command, "and if we do not improve theſe Mercies to "ſome Settlement, ſuch as may be to God's "Honour, and the good of this Commonwealth, we ſhall be very much blame-worthy."

Harriſon. "I think that which my Lord "General hath propounded, is to adviſe as to "a Settlement both of our civil and ſpiritual "Liberties, and ſo that the Mercies which "the Lord hath given in to us, may not be "caſt away; how this may be done is the "great Queſtion."

Whitelock. "It is a great Queſtion indeed, and "not ſuddenly to be reſolved; yet it were pity "that a Meeting of ſo many able and worthy "Perſons, as I ſee here, ſhould be fruitleſs. "I ſhould humbly offer in the firſt Place,

"whe-

1651. " whether it be not requiſite to be underſtood,
" in what Way this Settlement is deſired,
" whether of an abſolute Republick, or with
" any mixture of Monarchy."

General *Cromwell.* " My Lord Commiſſioner
" *Whitelock* hath put us upon the right Point;
" and indeed it is my Meaning, that we ſhould
" conſider, whether a Republick, or a mixt
" Monarchical Government will be beſt to be
" ſettled; and if any thing Monarchical, then
" in whom that Power ſhall be placed."

Sir *Tho. Widdrington.* " I think a mixt Mo-
" narchical Government, will be moſt ſuitable
" to the Laws and People of this Nation; and
" if any Monarchical, I ſuppoſe we ſhall hold
" it moſt juſt to place that Power in one of the
" Sons of the late King."

Fleetwood. " I think that the Queſtion,
" whether an abſolute Republick, or a mixt
" Monarchy, be beſt to be ſettled in this Na-
" tion, will not be very eaſy to be deter-
" min'd."

Lord-Chief-Juſtice *St. John.* " It will be
" found, that the Government of this Nation,
" without ſomething of Monarchical Power,
" will be very difficult to be ſo ſettled, as not
" to ſhake the Foundation of our Laws, and
" the Liberties of the People."

Lenthall. " It will breed a ſtrange Confuſi-
" on to ſettle a Government of this Nation,
" without ſomething of Monarchy."

Desborough. " I beſeech you, my Lord,
" why may not this, as well as other Nations,
" be governed in the Way of a Republick?"

Whitelock. " The Laws of *England* are ſo in-
" terwoven with the Power and Practice of
" Monarchy, that to ſettle a Government with-
" out ſomething of Monarchy in it, would make

" ſo

" ſo great an Alteration in the Proceedings of 1651.
" our Law, that you have ſcarce time to recti-
" fy; nor can we well foreſee the Inconvenien-
" cies which will ariſe thereby."

Whalley. " I do not well underſtand Mat-
" ters of Law; but it ſeems to me the beſt
" Way, not to have any Thing of Monarchi-
" cal Power in the Settlement of our Govern-
" ment: And if we ſhould reſolve upon any,
" whom have we to pitch upon? The King's
" eldeſt Son hath been in Arms againſt us, and
" his ſecond Son likewiſe is our Enemy."

Sir *Thomas Widdrington.* " But the late
" King's third Son, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, is
" ſtill among us, and too young to have been
" in Arms againſt us, or infected with the
" Principles of our Enemies."

Whitelock. " There may be a Day given for
" the King's eldeſt Son, or for the Duke of
" *York* his Brother, to come in to the Parlia-
" ment; and upon ſuch Terms as ſhall be
" thought fit, and agreeable both to our Civil
" and Spiritual Liberties, a Settlement may
" be made with them."

General *Cromwell.* " That will be a Buſineſs
" of more than ordinary Difficulty; but real-
" ly I think, if it may be done with Safety,
" and Preſervation of our Rights, both as
" *Engliſhmen*, and as Chriſtians, that a Settle-
" ment with ſomething of Monarchical Power in
" it, would be very effectual."

Much more Diſcourſe there was by ſeveral Gentlemen then preſent. The Soldiers were generally for a pure Republick, the Lawyers for a mixt Monarchy, and many for the Duke of *Glouceſter* to be made King; but General *Cromwell* ſtill put off that Debate to ſome other Point; and many think, that having now be-

1651. begun to entertain Thoughts of ſetting up himſelf, his Deſign in this Conference was only to diſcover the Inclinations of theſe Perſons, that he might make a proper Uſe thereof in proſecuting the Ends of his own Ambition, which was much heighten'd by the finiſhing ſtroak that was given to his Succeſſes, in the late *crowning Victory* at *Worceſter*.

1652. His Commiſſion of Lieutenant of *Ireland* expiring, he is made General of the Forces there.

The Commiſſion of General *Cromwell* to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* being expir'd, the Parliament did not think fit to renew that Title and Office, looking upon them to be more ſuitable to Monarchy, than to a free Commonwealth; but they paſs'd a Vote, "That "the Act of Parliament conſtituting *Oliver* "*Cromwell*, Eſq; Captain-General and Com- "mander in chief of the Armies and Forces "rais'd by their Authority within *England*, "ſhould extend to the Forces in *Ireland*, as if "*Ireland* had been particularly named: And "that the Lord-General be requir'd to appoint "ſuch a Perſon as he ſhall think fit, to com- "mand the Forces in *Ireland*, and to Commiſ- "ſion him accordingly." And ſo Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* had the Command in chief of the Forces in *Ireland* given him, to hold under the Lord General *Cromwell*; and under his Conduct, that Kingdom was in a little time brought into perfect Subjection.

A Rupture between *England* and *Holland*.

Whilſt the Commonwealth of *England* was thus every where victorious at home, a Rupture happen'd between them and the elder Republick the States of *Holland*; which occaſion'd ſuch terrible Sea-fights, that no preceding Age ſince the Creation had ever produc'd the like. Some time in the laſt Year, the Parliament ſent over the Chief Juſtice *St. John* and Mr. *Strickland*, to treat of a Coalition

on with the *Dutch*; but they apprehending that this Conjunction might rob them of their Trade, and be little leſs than making them a Province to *England*, not only refus'd to conſent to it, but rudely treated *St. John*; which was ſo much reſented by his haughty Spirit, that he made a Report of this Embaſſy little to the Advantage of the *Dutch*. Upon this the Parliament paſs'd the *Act of Navigation*, which "prohibited Foreign Ships from bringing any Merchandizes into *England*, except "ſuch as ſhould be of the Growth or Manufacture of that Country, to which the ſaid "Ships belong'd." By Virtue of which Law the *Engliſh* took occaſion to ſearch the *Dutch* Veſſels, and often to make Prize of them. The States hereupon ſent over four Ambaſſadors for the reſtoring and preſerving a good Underſtanding between the two Republicks; but the Parliament demanded the Arrears for the *Dutch* Fiſhing upon the Coaſts of *England* and *Scotland*, the giving up to Juſtice thoſe of the *Dutch* who ſurviv'd, that were aſſiſting in the Maſſacre of the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*; and a free Trade up the *Scheld*. The *Dutch* ſeeing how little they were to expect from the *Engliſh* by a Treaty, began to prepare for a War; nor were the others behind-hand with them. 1652.

Several Sea-fights between them.

The firſt Sea-fight between theſe potent Republicks, was in *May* this Year; when Admiral *Van Trump*, according to the Inſtructions he had receiv'd, refuſing to ſtrike Sail to the *Engliſh*, *Blake* the *Engliſh* Admiral gave Orders to fire at *Trump*'s Flag; which being done thrice, *Trump* inſtead of ſtriking it, pour'd a Broadſide upon *Blake*. Hereupon both Fleets were engag'd from four in the After-

1652. noon till Night; in which Fight, the *Dutch* had one Man of War taken, and another ſunk, one hundred and fifty Men kill'd, and their whole Fleet much damag'd; whereas the *Engliſh* had not one Ship loſt or diſabled, and but very few of their Men ſlain. The ſecond Sea-fight was on the 20th of *Auguſt*; when Sir *George Ayſcough*, who was left by *Blake* to command in the *Downs*, with thirty eight Men of War, ſet upon the *Dutch* Fleet of fifty, and fifteen Merchant Men. This Fight having continu'd three Days, the *Dutch* loſt two Ships, one ſunk, and the other burnt, but the *Engliſh* none. On the 28th of *October*, Admiral *Blake*, with Vice-Admiral *Penn* and Rear-Admiral *Bourn*, again engag'd the *Dutch* Fleet near the *North-Foreland*, boarded and took their Rear-Admiral, ſunk two more of them, and one was blown up. The reſt of the *Dutch* Fleet being very much ſhatter'd and forc'd to fly, was purſu'd twelve Leagues by the *Engliſh*; who loſt not one Ship in this Fight, tho' many of them were damag'd in their Rigging. Another furious Fight happen'd on the 29th of *November*, which continu'd from ten in the Morning till ſix at Night; when the *Dutch* Fleet, double in Number to the *Engliſh*, got the better of them, taking the *Garland* Frigat, burning the *Bonadventure*, and ſinking three more. One of the *Dutch* Flag-Ships was blown up, and all the Men loſt but two; and *Van Trump*'s and *De Ruyter*'s Ships were much damag'd.

A remarkable Conference between General *Cromwell* and *Whitelock*.

But to return home: About this time, the Lord General *Cromwell* meeting with Commiſſioner *Whitelock*, ſaluted him with more than ordinary Courteſy, and deſir'd to have ſome private Diſcourſe with him. *Whitelock* waited on him accordingly, and after ſome previous Diſcourſe,

courſe, the Lord General proceeded thus: 1652.
" Your Lordſhip hath obſerved moſt truly the
" Inclinations of the Officers of the Army to
" particular Factions, and to Murmurings, that
" they are not rewarded according to their De-
" ſerts, that others who have adventured leaſt,
" have gained moſt, and they have neither Profit
" nor Preferment, nor Place in Government,
" which others hold, who have undergone no
" hardſhips nor hazards for the Commonwealth;
" and herein they have too much of truth, yet
" their Inſolence is very great, and their Influ-
" ence upon the private Soldiers works them
" to the like Diſcontents and Murmurings.
" Then as for the Members of Parliament, the
" Army begins to have a ſtrange Diſtaſt againſt
" them, and I wiſh there were not too much
" Cauſe of it; and really their Pride, and Am-
" bition, and Self-ſeeking, ingroſſing all Places
" of Honour and Profit to themſelves and their
" Friends, and their daily breaking forth into
" new and violent Parties and Factions; their
" Delays of Buſineſs, and Deſign to perpetu-
" ate themſelves, and to continue the Power in
" their own Hands; their medling in private
" Matters between Party and Party, contrary
" to the Inſtitution of Parliaments, and their
" Injuſtice and Partiality in thoſe Matters, and
" the ſcandalous Lives of ſome of the chief of
" them; theſe Things, my Lord, do give too
" much ground for People to open their
" Mouths againſt them, and to diſlike them.
" Nor can they be kept within the bounds of
" Juſtice, and Law or Reaſon, they themſelves
" being the ſupreme Power of the Nation, lia-
" ble to no Account to any, nor to be con-
" troul'd or regulated by any other Power,
" there being none Superior, or Co-ordinate

1652. " with them. So that unleſs there be ſome " Authority and Power ſo full and ſo high, as " to reſtrain and keep Things in better Order, " and that may be a check to theſe exorbitan- " cies, it will be impoſſible in human Reaſon " to prevent our Ruin."

Whitelock anſwer'd: " I confeſs, the Danger " we are in by theſe Extravagancies and inor- " dinate Powers, is more than I doubt is gene- " rally apprehended; yet as to that Part of it " which concerns the Soldiery, your Excellen- " cy's Power and Commiſſion is ſufficient al- " ready to reſtrain and keep them in their due " Obedience: And bleſſed be God, you have " done it hitherto, and I doubt not but by " your Wiſdom you will be able ſtill to do it. " As to the Members of Parliament, I confeſs " the greateſt Difficulty lies there, your Com- " miſſion being from them, and they being ac- " knowledg'd the ſupreme Power of the Nati- " on, ſubject to no Controls, nor allowing any " Appeal from them. Yet I am ſure, your " Excellency will not look upon them as gene- " rally depraved; too many of them are much to " blame in thoſe Things you have mention'd, " and many unfit Things have paſs'd among " them; but I hope well of the major Part of " them, when great Matters come to a Deci- " ſion."

The Lord General reply'd, " There is little " Hopes of a good Settlement to be made by " them, really there is not; but a great deal of " fear, that they will deſtroy again what the " Lord hath done graciouſly for them and us: " We all forget God, and God will forget us, " and give us up to Confuſion, and theſe Men " will help it on, if they be ſuffer'd to proceed " in their Ways: Some Courſe muſt be thought

" on

" on to curb and reſtrain them, or we ſhall be " ruined by them." Upon this *Whitelock* ſaid, " We our ſelves have acknowledged them the " ſupreme Power, and taken our Commiſſions " and Authority in the higheſt Concernments " from them; and how to reſtrain and curb " them after this, it will be hard to find out " a Way for it." 1652.

The General then put this ſhort Queſtion to *Whitelock*, *What if a Man ſhould take upon him to be King?* Whitelock ſaid, *He thought that Remedy would be worſe than the Diſeaſe*: And the General asking him, *Why he thought ſo*, he proceeded, " As to your own Perſon, " the Title of King would be of no Advan- " tage, becauſe you have the full kingly Power " in you already, concerning the *Militia*, as " you are General: As to the Nomination of " Civil Officers, thoſe whom you think fitteſt " are ſeldom refuſed; and altho' you have no " negative Vote in the paſſing of Laws, yet " what you diſlike will not eaſily be carried; " and the Taxes are already ſettled, and in " your Power to diſpoſe the Money raiſed. " And as to foreign Affairs, tho' the ceremo- " nial Application be made to the Parliament, " yet the Expectation of good or bad Succeſs " in it, is from your Excellency; and particu- " lar Sollicitations of foreign Miniſters are " made to you only. So that I apprehend indeed " leſs Envy and Danger, and Pomp, but not " leſs Power and real Opportunities of doing " good, in your being General, than would be " if you had aſſum'd the Title of King."

The Lord-General proceeded to argue, *That whoever was actually King by Election, the Acts done by him were as lawful and juſtifiable, as if done by a King, who had the Crown by Inheri-*

1652. *tance; and that by an Act of Parliament in King* Henry *the Seventh's Reign, it was ſafer for the People to act under a King, let his Title be what it will, than under any other Power.* Whitelock agreed to the Legality, but much doubted the Expediency of it; and being ask'd, *What Danger he apprehended in taking this Title?* he anſwer'd, "The Danger I think would be this: "One of the main Points of Controverſy betwixt us and our Adverſaries, is, *Whether* "*the Government of this Nation ſhall be eſtabliſh'd in Monarchy, or in a free State or* "*Common-wealth*; and moſt of our Friends "have engaged with us, upon the Hopes of "having the Government ſettled in a free State, "and to effect that have undergone all their "Hazards and Difficulties; they being perſuaded (tho' I think much miſtaken) that under the Government of a Commonwealth, "they ſhall enjoy more Liberty and Right, "both as to their ſpiritual and civil Concernments, than they ſhall under Monarchy, the "preſſures and diſlike whereof are ſo freſh in "their Memories and Sufferings. Now if "your Excellency ſhall take upon you the Title "of King, this State of your Cauſe will be thereby wholly determin'd, and Monarchy eſtabliſh'd in your Perſon; and the Queſtion will "be no more, Whether our Government ſhall "be by a Monarch or by a free State, but, "Whether *Cromwell* or *Stuart* ſhall be our "King and Monarch: And that Queſtion, "wherein before ſo great Parties of the Nation were engag'd, and which was univerſal, "will by this means become in effect a private "Controverſy only; before it was National, "What kind of Government we ſhould have; "now it will become Particular, Who ſhall be

"our

" our Governour, whether of the Family of 1652.
" the *Stuarts*, or of the Family of the *Crom-*
" *wells*. Thus the State of our Controverſy
" being totally changed, all thoſe who were for
" a Common-wealth (and they are a very great
" and conſiderable Party) having their Hopes
" therein fruſtrate, will deſert you, your Hands
" will be weakned, your Intereſt ſtreightned,
" and your Cauſe in apparent Danger to be
" ruined."

The General here acknowledg'd that *Whitelock* ſpoke Reaſon, and ask'd him, *What other Thing he could propound, that might obviate the preſent Dangers and Difficulties, wherein they were all involv'd.* Whitelock confeſs'd, it would be the greateſt Difficulty to find out ſuch an Expedient, but ſaid, he had had ſome Things in his private Thoughts upon this Matter, which he fear'd were not fit, or ſafe for him to communicate: But upon the General's preſſing him to diſcloſe them, and promiſing there ſhould no Prejudice come to him by any private Diſcourſe betwixt them, and aſſuring him, he ſhould never betray his Friend, and that he ſhould take kindly whatever he ſhould offer; *Whitelock* began thus: " Give me
" leave then firſt to conſider your Excellency's
" Condition. You are invironed with ſecret
" Enemies: Upon your ſubduing of the pub-
" lick Enemy, the Officers of your Army ac-
" count themſelves all Victors, and to have
" had an equal ſhare in the Conqueſt with
" you. The Succeſs which God hath given us,
" hath not a little elated their Minds, and
" many of them are buſy, and of turbulent
" Spirits, and are not without their Deſigns
" how they may diſmount your Excellency, and
" ſome of themſelves get up into the Saddle;

1652. " how they may bring you down, and ſet up
" themſelves. They want not Counſel and En-
" couragement herein, it may be from ſome
" Members of the Parliament, who may be
" jealous of your Power and Greatneſs, leſt
" you ſhould grow too high for them, and in
" time over-maſter them; and they will plot
" to bring you down firſt, or to clip your
" Wings."

The General upon this thank'd *Whitelock* for ſo fully conſidering his Condition: *It is*, ſaid he, *a Teſtimony of your Love to me and Care of me, and you have rightly conſider'd it; and I may ſay without Vanity, that in my Condition yours is involved and all our Friends, and thoſe that plot my Ruin, will hardly bear your Continuance in any Condition worthy of you. Beſides this, the Cauſe it ſelf may poſſibly receive ſome Diſadvantage, by the Struglings and Contentions among our ſelves. But what, Sir, are your Thoughts for Prevention of thoſe Miſchiefs that hang over our Heads?*

Whitelock then proceeded: " Pardon me, Sir,
" in the next Place a little to conſider the
" Condition of the King of *Scots*. This Prince
" being now by your Valour, and the Succeſs
" which God hath given to the Parliament,
" and to the Army under your Command, re-
" duc'd to a very low Condition, both he, and
" all about him, cannot but be very inclinable
" to hearken to any Terms, whereby their loſt
" Hopes may be reviv'd of his being reſtored
" to the Crown, and they to their Fortunes
" and native Country. By a private Treaty
" with him you may ſecure your ſelf, and your
" Friends, and their Fortunes; you may make
" your Self and your Poſterity as great and
" permanent, to all human Probability, as

" ever

" ever any Subject was, and provide for your " Friends: You may put ſuch Limits to Mo- " narchical Power, as will ſecure our Spiritual " and Civil Liberties, and you may ſecure the " Cauſe in which we are all engaged; and this " may be effectually done, by having the Pow- " er of the *Militia* continued in your ſelf, and " whom you ſhall agree upon after you. I pro- " pound therefore for your Excellency to ſend " to the King of *Scots*, and to have a private " Treaty with him for this Purpoſe." 1652.

The General hereupon told him, he thought he had much Reaſon for what he propounded; *but*, ſaid he, *it is a Matter of ſo high Importance and Difficulty, that it deſerves more time of Conſideration and Debate, than is at preſent allow'd us: We ſhall therefore take a farther time to diſcourſe of it.* And with that he brake off, and went away with ſome Diſpleaſure in his Countenance. His Carriage alſo towards *Whitelock* was from that time alter'd, and his adviſing with him not ſo frequent and intimate as formerly; and not long after, he found an Occaſion, by an honourable Employment, to ſend him out of the Way, that he might be no hindrance to him in the Deſigns he was then carrying on. For 'tis pretty manifeſt, that he had it now in his Thoughts to ſet up himſelf, and bring the Crown upon his own Head: To which purpoſe *Harry Nevill*, who was then one of the Council of State, us'd to tell it as a Story of his own Knowledge, " That *Cromwell* " upon this great Occaſion ſent for ſome of the " chief City-Divines, as if he made it a Mat- " ter of Conſcience to be determin'd by their " Advice. Among theſe was the leading Mr. " *Calamy*, who very boldly oppos'd the Pro- " ject of *Cromwell*'s ſingle Government, and " of-

Harry Nevill's Story concerning him.

1652. " offer'd to prove it both *unlawful* and *impra-*
" *cticable*. *Cromwell* anſwer'd readily upon the
" firſt Head of *Unlawful*, and appealed to the
" Safety of the Nation being the ſupreme
" Law: *But*, ſays he, *pray Mr.* Calamy, *why*
" *impracticable*? Calamy reply'd, *Oh, 'tis a-*
" *gainſt the Voice of the Nation, there will be*
" *nine in ten againſt you. Very well*, ſays *Crom-*
" *well, but what if I ſhould diſarm the nine,*
" *and put the Sword in the tenth Man's Hand,*
" *would not that do the Buſineſs?*"

He and his Officers complain of the Long Parliament.

General *Cromwell* and his Officers, in order to bring about their Deſigns, were now daily complaining of the Grievances from the *Long Parliament*, and ſeem'd very zealous upon the common Pretences of Right and Juſtice, and publick Liberty, to put a Period to their Seſſion; " which if they would not ſhortly do
" themſelves, the Army and People muſt do it
" for them." They particularly complain'd,
" That the Parliament order'd all Things at
" Will, and diſtributed all valuable Employ-
" ments among themſelves; that they were ſo
" many Kings, and for one Sovereign, the Na-
" tion had many, who car'd leſs for the Laws,
" than him they had deſtroy'd; that they em-
" bru'd the Kingdom in Blood, upon pretence
" of puniſhing the Adverſaries of the Govern-
" ment, but in reality to gratify their own
" private Revenge; that they had ſtudy'd to
" perpetuate themſelves in an Employment
" which ought to be Temporary, ſo that all
" the good Subjects of the Commonwealth
" might ſhare in it; that the Parliament ought
" to be diſſolv'd, and a new Repreſentative
" choſen by the univerſal Conſent of the Peo-
" ple, according to the Scheme laid when Mo-
" narchy was aboliſh'd to ſet up a Common-
" wealth."

" wealth." And that no Obſtacle might be in the Way of the deſign'd future Government, means were found to ſet the young Duke of *Glouceſter* at Liberty, and ſend him out of the Nation. 1652.

On the 18th of *February*, there happen'd another dreadful Fight between the *Engliſh* Fleet commanded by *Blake*, *Dean* and *Monk*, and the *Dutch* under *Van Trump*. This Fight laſted three Days with wonderful Bravery, and terrible Slaughter on both Sides, tho' the *Engliſh* prevail'd; for the *Dutch* loſt eleven Men of War, and thirty Merchant-ſhips; above two Thouſand of their Men being kill'd, and fifteen hundred taken Priſoners: But the *Engliſh* loſt but one Ship, the *Southampton*, which was ſunk; tho' their ſlain were not many leſs than thoſe of the Enemy. Another Sea-fight between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*.

This great Loſs ſo ſenſibly affected the States of *Holland* and *Weſt-Frieſland*, that they diſpatch'd Letters to the *Engliſh* Parliament, to endeavour after ſome Means for putting an end to this cruel War. This Negotiation had no Effect, tho' it was particularly promoted by General *Cromwell* himſelf, who was very deſirous to have a Peace concluded. The States had offer'd to acknowledge the *Engliſh* Sovereignty of the *Britiſh* Seas, and to pay three hundred Thouſand Pounds to the *Engliſh* Commonwealth; but finding this was not likely to ſucceed, they apply'd themſelves (as we are told) more directly to General *Cromwell*, promiſing him vaſt Sums, if he would venture to depoſe and diſſolve the Parliament. The *Dutch* deſire Peace.

1653. The General and his Officers continue their complaint againſt the Parliament.

However this was, the General and his Officers ſtill continu'd their Complaints againſt the Parliament; and Petitions, Addreſſes, and Remonſtrances were daily preſented from the Ar-

1653. Army, " for the Payment of their Arrears, " the putting an end to this Parliament, and " ſummoning a more equal Repreſentative; " which they told them would be the moſt po- " pular Action they could perform." Some of the Officers were indeed very much concern'd at theſe Proceedings, and openly proteſted againſt them. Major *Streater* was ſo bold as to declare, " That the General intended to ſet " up himſelf, and that it was a betraying of " their moſt glorious Cauſe, for which ſo much " Blood had been ſpilt:" But *Harriſon*, who was one of the Leaders of that Sect now known by the Name of *Fifth-Monarchy Men*, told him, *He was aſſur'd, the General did not ſeek himſelf in it, but did it to make Way for the Rule of* Jeſus, *that he might have the Scepter.* To whom the Major thus reply'd, *That unleſs* Jeſus *came very ſuddenly, he would come too late.*

The Proceedings of the Houſe on this Occaſion.

The Parliament being very ſenſible of theſe Proceedings, a great Debate aroſe thereupon in the Houſe; where ſeveral of the Members, out of Juſtice, Reaſon, or a foreſeen Neceſſity, appear'd to be for a Diſſolution, and a new Repreſentative to be choſen; but in the end it was declar'd, That the Diſſolution of the Parliament, was too high a Matter for any private Perſons to meddle with; and to give a timely check to any farther Preſumption of that Nature, a Committee was appointed to prepare an Act of Parliament with all poſſible Expedition, " For filling up of their Houſe, and for ſet- " tling their Qualifications; and to declare it " High-Treaſon for any Man to propoſe or " contrive the Changing of the preſent Govern- " ment."

General *Cromwell* holds a Conſultation thereupon.

General *Cromwell* perceiving how unwilling they were to part with their Power and Authority,

thority, which they had ſo long enjoy'd, on the 19th of *April*, held a Conſultation with the chief of his Friends in the Parliament and Army, at his Lodgings in *Whitehall*, to conſider of ſome Expedient for the preſent carrying on of the Government of the Commonwealth, and putting a Period to the Parliament. Some few, particularly Sir *Thomas Widdrington* and Commiſſioner *Whitelock*, declar'd what a dangerous thing it was to diſſolve the Parliament, and how difficult it would be to erect any other Form of Government: But the General and moſt of his Officers with ſeveral Members of the Houſe, deliver'd their Opinion, *That it was neceſſary to take ſome new Meaſures, and that it was not fit the preſent Aſſembly of Parliament ſhould be permitted to prolong their own Power.* The Conference laſted till late at Night, when without coming to any Concluſion, the Meeting was adjourn'd to the next Morning. Moſt of them being then again met, the Point in Debate was, " Whether for- " ty Perſons or about that Number of Parlia- " ment Men and Officers of the Army, ſhould " be nominated by the Parliament, and im- " power'd for managing the Affairs of the " Commonwealth, till a new Parliament ſhould " meet, and ſo the preſent Parliament be forth- " with diſſolv'd." The Lord General being inform'd during this Debate, that the Parliament was ſitting, and that it was hoped they would put a Period to themſelves, which would be the moſt honourable Diſſolution for them; he thereupon broke off the Meeting, and the Members of the Parliament that were with him, left him at his Lodgings and went to the Houſe; where, contrary to their Expectation, inſtead of coming to any Reſolutions of diſſol- 1653.

1653. ving, they found them in Debate of an Act, the which would occaſion other Meetings of them again, and prolong their Sitting.

He by Force diſſolves the Parliament and the *Commonwealth*

Colonel *Ingoldsby* came back to the General, and inform'd him what the Houſe was upon: At which the General, who expected they ſhould have medled with no other Buſineſs, but putting a Period to their own ſitting without any more delay, was ſo enrag'd, that he immediately commanded ſome of the Officers to fetch a Party of Soldiers, with which marching directly to *Weſtminſter*, he plac'd ſome of them at the Door, ſome in the *Lobby*, and others on the Stairs. Himſelf going into the Houſe, firſt addreſs'd himſelf to his Friend *St. John*, and told him, *That he then came to do that which griev'd him to the very Soul, and what he had earneſtly with Tears, pray'd to God againſt: Nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it: But that there was a Neceſſity laid upon him therein, in order to the Glory of God, and the Good of the Nation.* Then he ſat down and heard their Debates for ſome time; after which calling to Major General *Harriſon*, who was on the other ſide of the Houſe, to come to him, he told him, *That he judg'd the Parliament ripe for a Diſſolution, and this to be the time of doing it.* Harriſon anſwer'd, *Sir, the Work is very great and dangerous, therefore I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider of it, before you engage in it. You ſay well,* reply'd the General; and thereupon ſat ſtill for about a quarter of an Hour; and then ſaid again to *Harriſon, This is the Time, I muſt do it.* And ſo ſtanding up on a ſudden, he bad the Speaker leave the Chair, and told the Houſe, *That they had ſat long enough, unleſs they had done more good; that ſome of them were Whore-maſters*

ſters (looking then towards *Harry Martin* and Sir *Peter Wentworth*;) *that others of them were Drunkards, and ſome corrupt and unjuſt Men, and ſcandalous to the Profeſſion of the Goſpel; and that it was not fit they ſhould ſit as a Parliament any longer, and therefore he muſt deſire them to go away.* He charg'd them with *not having a Heart to do any Thing for the publick Good, and eſpouſing the Intereſt of Presbytery and the Lawyers, who were the Supporters of Tyranny and Oppreſſion*; and accuſed them of *an Intention to perpetuate themſelves in Power.* When ſome of the Members began to ſpeak, he ſtepped into the midſt of the Houſe, and ſaid, *Come, come, I will put an End to your Prating*: Then walking up and down the Houſe, he cry'd out, *You are no Parliament, I ſay you are no Parliament*; and ſtamping with his Feet, he bad them *for ſhame be gone, and give Place to honeſter Men.* Upon this Signal the Soldiers enter'd the Houſe, and he bad one of them, *Take away that Fool's Bauble, the Mace*; and *Harriſon* taking the Speaker by the Arm, he came down. Then the General ſeizing on all their Papers, turn'd them all out of the Houſe; and have caus'd the Doors to be lock'd up, went away to *Whitehall.* " Thus, as *White-*
" *lock* obſerves, it pleaſed God, that this Aſſem-
" bly famous throughout the World for its Un-
" dertakings, Actions and Succeſſes, having ſub-
" du'd all their Enemies, were themſelves over-
" thrown and ruined by their Servants; and thoſe
" whom they had raiſed, now pull'd down their
" Maſters: An Example never to be forgot-
" ten, and ſcarce to be parallel'd in any Sto-
" ry! By which all Perſons may be inſtructed,
" how uncertain and ſubject to Change all
" worldly Affairs are; how apt to fall when

1653.

1653. "we think them higheſt." The ſame Day in the Afternoon, General *Cromwell* went to the Council of State, attended by the Major-Generals *Lambert* and *Harriſon*; and as he enter'd, ſpoke thus to them, *Gentlemen, if you are met here as private Perſons, you ſhall not be diſturb'd; but if as a Council of State, this is no Place for you: And ſince you cannot but know what was done at the Houſe in the Morning, ſo take notice that the Parliament is diſſolv'd.* *Bradſhaw* and ſome others made ſome Reply to him; but the Council finding themſelves to be under a Force, they all quietly departed.

THE



THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

PART III.

Containing his Actions in the PROTECTORATE: *From the Diſſolution of the Long Parliament, to his Death.*

CHAP. I.

From the Diſſolution of the Long Parliament, to the Meeting of Cromwell's *Firſt Parliament.*

THE formidable Body at *Weſtminſter* being thus forcibly diſſolv'd, the Lord-General and his Party were very buſy in conſulting how to manage the Government, which by this Means was fallen into their Hands. This ſingle Action made *Cromwell* Maſter of

The General conſults how to carry on the Government.

1653. three Kingdoms; for tho' he did not take upon himſelf the Title of *Protector* till ſeveral Months after, yet his Power was in effect the ſame, from the very Moment that he ſucceeded in that bold Undertaking: Soon after which he ſent for Major *Salloway* and Mr. *John Carew*, and complain'd to them of *the great Weight of Affairs that by this Means was fallen upon him*; affirming, *that the Thoughts of the Conſequence thereof made him to tremble, and therefore deſir'd them to free him from the Temptations that might be laid before him, and to that end to go immediately to the Chief Juſtice* St. John, *and Mr.* Selden, *and ſome others, and endeavour to perſuade them to draw up ſome Inſtrument of Government, that might put the Power out of his Hands.* To this Major *Salloway* anſwer'd, *The Way, Sir, to free you from this Temptation, is for you not to look upon your ſelf to be under it, but to reſt perſuaded, that the Power of this Nation is in the good People of* England, *as formerly it was.* This Anſwer was thought to be not very agreeable to the General, who now appointed a Meeting of the chief Officers of the Army to be at *Whitehall*, in order to deliberate what was proper to be done in this Exigency; and with their Advice, he in the firſt Place, publiſh'd a Declaration of the Grounds and Reaſons for their diſſolving the late Parliament; which was to the following Effect:

He and his Council of Officers publiſh a Declaration.

" That after God was pleas'd marvellouſly
" to appear for his People, in reducing of *Ire-*
" *land* and *Scotland* to ſo great a degree of
" Peace, and *England* to perfect Quiet; where-
" by the Parliament had Opportunity to give
" the People the Harveſt of all their Labour,
" Blood and Treaſure, and to ſettle a due Li-

" berty

" berty in reference to civil and ſpiritual 1653.
" Things; whereunto they were obliged by their
" Duty, Engagements, and thoſe great and won-
" derful Things God had wrought for them;
" they notwithſtanding made ſo little Progreſs
" therein, that it was matter of much Grief to
" the good People of the Land; who thereup-
" on apply'd themſelves to the Army, expect-
" ing Redreſs by their Means; who (tho' un-
" willing to meddle with the Civil Authority)
" agreed that ſuch Officers as were Members
" of Parliament, ſhould move them to proceed
" vigorouſly in reforming what was amiſs in the
" Commonwealth, and in ſettling it upon a
" Foundation of Juſtice and Righteouſneſs;
" which being done, it was hop'd the Parlia-
" ment would have anſwer'd their Expectati-
" ons. But finding the contrary, they renew'd
" their Deſires by an humble Petition in *Au-*
" *guſt* 1652. Which produc'd no conſiderable
" Effect, nor was any ſuch Progreſs made
" therein, as might imply their real Intentions
" to accompliſh what was petition'd for, but
" rather an Averſeneſs to the Things them-
" ſelves, with much Bitterneſs and Oppoſition
" to the People of God, and his Spirit acting
" in them; inſomuch that the godly Party in
" Parliament were render'd of no farther Uſe,
" than to countenance the Ends of a corrupt
" Party, for effecting their Deſires of perpetu-
" ating themſelves in the Supreme Government.
" For obviating theſe Evils, the Officers of
" the Army obtain'd ſeveral Meetings with
" ſome of the Parliament, to conſider what
" Remedy might be apply'd to prevent the
" ſame: But ſuch Endeavours proving ineffe-
" ctual, it became evident, that this Parlia-
" ment, thro' the Corruption of ſome, the Jea-

1653. " louſy of others, and the Non-attendance of
" many, would never anſwer thoſe Ends, which
" God, his People, and the whole Nation ex-
" pected from them; but that this Cauſe,
" which God had ſo greatly bleſs'd, muſt
" needs languiſh under their Hands, and by
" degrees be loſt; and the Lives, Liberties and
" Comforts of his People be deliver'd into their
" Enemies Hands. All which being ſadly and
" ſeriouſly conſider'd by the honeſt People of
" the Nation, as well as by the Army, it
" ſeemed a Duty incumbent upon us, who had
" ſeen ſo much of the Power and Preſence of
" God, to conſider of ſome effectual Means,
" whereby to eſtabliſh Righteouſneſs and Peace
" in theſe Nations. And after much debate,
" it was judged neceſſary, that the ſupreme
" Government ſhould be by the Parliament de-
" volved upon known Perſons, fearing God,
" and of approved Integrity, for a Time, as
" the moſt hopeful Way to countenance all
" God's People, reform the Law, and admini-
" ſter Juſtice impartially; hoping thereby the
" People might forget Monarchy, and under-
" ſtand their true Intereſt in the Election of
" ſucceſſive Parliaments; that ſo the Govern-
" ment might be ſettled upon a right Baſis,
" without hazard to this glorious Cauſe, or
" neceſſitating to keep up Armies for the De-
" fence of the ſame. And being ſtill reſolved
" to uſe all Means poſſible to avoid extraor-
" dinary Courſes, we prevailed with about
" twenty Members of Parliament to give us a
" Conference; with whom we plainly debated
" the Neceſſity and Juſtice of our Propoſals;
" the which found no Acceptance, but inſtead
" thereof, it was offer'd, That the Way was,
" to continue ſtill this Parliament, as being

" that

" that from which we might probably expect 1653.
" all good Things. This being vehemently in-
" ſiſted on did much confirm us in our Appre-
" henſions, that not any Love to a Repreſenta-
" tive, but the making uſe thereof to recruit,
" and ſo to perpetuate themſelves, was their
" aim in the Act they had then under Conſide-
" ration. For preventing the conſummating
" whereof, and all the ſad and evil Conſequences,
" which upon the Grounds aforeſaid muſt have
" enſued, and whereby at one blow the Inte-
" reſt of all honeſt Men, and of this glorious
" Cauſe, had been endangered to be laid in the
" Duſt, and theſe Nations embroil'd in new
" Troubles, at a Time when our Enemies a-
" broad were watching all Advantages againſt, and
" ſome of them actually engaged in War with
" us; we have been neceſſitated (tho' with much
" reluctancy) to put an end to this Parliament.
" Then they promis'd to put the Government
" into the Hands of *Perſons of approv'd Fide-*
" *lity and Honeſty*, and at laſt declar'd, that all
" Magiſtrates and Officers whatſoever ſhall
" proceed in their reſpective Places and Offi-
" ces, and Obedience ſhall be paid to them as
" fully, as when the Parliament was ſitting."

This Declaration was ſubſcrib'd by the Lord General, and his Council of Officers, *Whitehall*, *April* 22d. 1653. Which Council of Officers and ſome others, being form'd in Imitation of the late Council of State, was compos'd of the thirty Perſons following; *Cromwell*, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Liſle*, *Harriſon*, *Desborough*, *Pickering*, *Wolleſly*, *Aſhley-Cooper*, *Hope*, *Hewſon*, *Norton*, *Montague*, *Bennet*, *Stapeley*, *Sydenham*, *Tomlinſon*, *Jones*, *Tichburn*, *Strickland*, *Carey*, *Howard*, *Broughton*, *Lawrence*, *Holiſter*, *Comptney*, *Major*, *St. Nicholas*, *Moyer*, and *Williams*.

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" ment might be ſettled upon a right Baſis,
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1653. The Diſſolution of the Parliament was gene-
rally very grateful and acceptable to the Peo-
The Entertainment it met with. ple; and this Declaration being ſent out into all the Dominions of the Commonwealth, was anſwer'd by many Congratulations and Addreſſes from the Fleet, and Army, and People, promiſing to ſtand by the General and his Council of Officers, and acknowledging the Juſtice of the late Action. The ſaid Declaration was on the 30th Day of *April* ſeconded by this enſuing, which met with equal Submiſſion and Obedience.

Another Declaration. " Whereas the Parliament being diſſolved, " *Perſons of approved Fidelity and Honeſty*, are " (according to the late Declaration of the 22d " of *April* laſt) to be called from the ſeveral " Parts of this Commonwealth to the ſupreme " Authority; and although effectual Proceed- " ings are and have been had, for perfecting " thoſe Reſolutions, yet ſome convenient Time " being required for the aſſembling of thoſe " Perſons, it hath been found neceſſary, for " preventing the Miſchiefs and Inconveniencies " which may ariſe in the mean while to the " publick Affairs, that a *Council of State* be " conſtituted, to take care of, and intend the " Peace, Safety and preſent Management of " the Affairs of this Commonwealth; which " being ſettled accordingly, the ſame is hereby " declar'd and publiſh'd, to the end all Perſons " may take Notice thereof, and in their ſeve- " ral Places and Stations, demean themſelves " peaceably, giving Obedience to the Laws of " the Nation as heretofore; in the Exerciſe " and Adminiſtration whereof, as Endeavours " ſhall be uſed that no Oppreſſion or Wrong be " done to the People, ſo a ſtrict Account will " be required of all ſuch as ſhall do any Thing

" to endanger the publick Peace and Quiet, 1653.
" upon any Pretence whatſoever." Subſcribed
O. Cromwell.

The Lord General *Cromwell* having now in effect the ſupreme Power in his Hands, the firſt remarkable Paſſage that befel him, was at Sea. The *Dutch* had form'd mighty Expectations from the late Revolutions in *England*, believing, the *Engliſh* would by this means be brought to fall together by the Ears, and ſo their Work would be very eaſy with them. With theſe Hopes, notwithſtanding their late Pretences to Peace, they with all imaginable Diligence, ſet out a greater Fleet to Sea, than they had done before; and *Van Trump* boaſted he would fire the *Engliſh* Ships in their Harbours, and the *Downs*, before the *Engliſh* Fleet could get out. But the new Government, well knowing what Credit was to be given to the *Dutch* Proteſtations, *of their ſincere Love and Affection to the* Engliſh *Nation*, &c. were not behind-hand with them, but did every thing that might advance the Maritime Preparations; ſo that in *May* they ſent out another gallant Fleet, conſiſting of a hundred Ships of all ſorts, under the Command of *Monk* and *Dean* as Admirals, *Penn* as Vice Admiral, and *Lawſon* as Rear-Admiral. On the 2d of *June*, early in the Morning, they engag'd the *Dutch* Fleet under *Van Trump*, *De Ruyter*, *De Wit*, and the two *Evertſons*, conſiſting of a hundred and four Men of War, twelve Galliots, and nine Fireſhips. This Fight happen'd not far from the Coaſts of *Flanders*, the beginning of which was ſo fatal, that at the firſt Broadſide of the Enemy, Admiral *Dean* was ſhot off almoſt in the middle by a Cannon-Ball. The Fight continu'd till Three in the Afternoon, when the

Victory over the *Dutch* at Sea.

1653. Wind coming up contrary to the *Engliſh*, the *Dutch* fled, and were purſu'd by the lighteſt of the *Engliſh* Frigats. The next Morning, the two Fleets found themſelves again near each other, but the Wind was ſo ſlack, that *Monk* could not come to engage the Enemy till about Noon; and then the Battle began again, and continu'd very hot on both ſides till Ten at Night. The *Engliſh* Fleet charg'd the *Dutch* with ſo much Bravery and Reſolution, that they put them into very great Diſorder; ſo that tho' *Van Trump* fir'd on them to rally them, he could not procure above Twenty Ships of his whole Fleet to ſtand by him, the reſt making all the Sail they could away to the Eaſtward: And the Wind blowing a freſh Gale from the Weſtward, the *Engliſh* purſu'd them with ſuch Succeſs, that they ſunk ſix of their beſt Ships, blew up two others, and took Eleven, with thirteen Hundred and fifty Priſoners, among whom were Six of their principal Captains. Towards the End of this Battle, Admiral *Blake* came in with eighteen freſh Ships; and had not the *Dutch* ſhelter'd themſelves between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, where 'twas not ſafe for the *Engliſh* to expoſe their great Ships, by reaſon of the Sands, moſt of their Fleet had in all probability been taken or deſtroy'd. The Loſs of the *Engliſh* was greateſt in their Admiral *Dean*: Beſides him, there was but one Captain, and about a hundred and fifty common Sea-men kill'd: More were wounded, but they loſt not one Ship. Having put their Priſoners on Shoar, and left ſome of their Ships to be refitted, they return'd to the Coaſt of *Holland*, where for ſome time they block'd up the *Dutch* in their own Harbours, and ply'd to and again betwixt the *Texel*, and the *Uly*,

to

to hinder Ships coming out from thence to join with that Part of the *Dutch* Fleet which was got into the *Wielings*, and to ſtop up their Trade and Fiſhing. 1653.

At home, General *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers were in the mean time very buſy in preparing for a new kind of Parliament. They had reſolv'd to ſummon ſelect Perſons, to be nominated by themſelves, out of every County; who ſhould be a Repreſentative of the whole Nation: And the ſeveral Perſons having been agreed upon, Letters from the General were thus directed to each of them. General *Cromwell* prepares for a new Parliament.

" Foraſmuch as upon the Diſſolution of the " late Parliament, it became neceſſary that the " Peace, Safety and good Government of this " Commonwealth ſhould be provided for; and " in order thereunto divers Perſons fearing " God, and of approv'd Fidelity and Honeſty, " are by my Self, with the Advice of my " Council of Officers, nominated, to whom the " great Charge and Truſt of ſo weighty Af- " fairs is to be committed; and having good " Aſſurance of your Love to, and Courage for " God, and the Intereſt of this Cauſe, and of " the good People of this Commonwealth: I " *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General and Com- " mander in Chief of all the Armies and For- " ces raiſed, and to be raiſed within this Com- " monwealth, do hereby ſummon and require you, " being one of the Perſons nominated, perſo- " nally to appear at the Council-Chamber at " *Whitehall* within the City of *Weſtminſter*, up- " on the fourth Day of *July* next enſuing the " Date hereof, then and there to take upon " you the ſaid Truſt, unto which you are here- " by called, and appointed to ſerve as a Mem- " ber of the County of —— And hereof you " are His Form of Summons to the Perſons nominated for that Purpoſe.

1653. "are not to fail. Given under my Hand this "eighth Day of *June*, 1653. *O. Cromwell.*"

Several Acts of the General and Council of State.

Before the Meeting of this Convention, ſeveral other Acts of Authority were perform'd by the General. On the 14th of *June*, he and the Council of State put forth a Declaration, "To invite all the good People in theſe Nations to Thankfulneſs, and holy rejoicing in "the Lord, for the late great Victory at Sea "againſt the *Dutch*:" And he appointed a Day for the Meeting of himſelf and his Council of Officers for that Purpoſe. Many People were the more pleas'd with this, becauſe it was not a Command impos'd on them, but only an Invitation to keep a Day of publick Thankſgiving. On the 22d, that there might be no Interruption to the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, the General with the Council of State nominated the Judges for the Summer Circuit. And a few Days after, they paſs'd an Order, forbidding all riotous Aſſemblies in the great Level of the Fens, and the throwing down of Fences and Incloſures there.

CHAP. II.

From the Meeting of his FIRST PARLIAMENT, *to his being declar'd* PROTECTOR *by the* Inſtrument of Government.

Cromwell's firſt Parliament.

THE ſeveral Perſons ſummoned by General *Cromwell* to take upon them the ſupreme Authority, appear'd on the appointed Day, *July* 4. about eleven Weeks after the Diſſo-

Diſſolution of the late Parliament, in the Coun- 1653.
cil-Chamber at *Whitehall*, to the Number of above a hundred and Twenty. Being ſet round the Table, the General, attended by many of his Officers, ſtanding about the middle of the Table, made a Speech to them, " of the Fear " of God, and the Honour due to his Name, " full of Texts of Scripture; and remember'd " them of the wonderful Mercies of God to " this Nation, and the continued Series of " Providence, by which he had appear'd in " carrying on his Cauſe, and bringing Affairs " into that preſent glorious Condition, where- " in they now were. Then he reminded them " of the noble Actions of the Army in the fa- " mous Battle of *Worceſter*, and of the Appli- " cations they had made to the Parliament for " a good Settlement of all the Affairs of the " Commonwealth, the neglect whereof made " it abſolutely neceſſary to diſſolve it. Hence " he ſhew'd them the Cauſe of their Sum- " mons, and aſſur'd them by many Arguments, " ſome of which were taken from Scripture, " *That they had a clear Call to take upon them* " *the ſupreme Authority of the Commonwealth*; " and concluded with a very earneſt Deſire, " That great Tenderneſs might be uſed to- " wards all conſcientious Perſons, of what " Judgment ſoever they appear'd to be." His Speech being ended, he deliver'd to them an Inſtrument engroſſed in Parchment under his Hand and Seal, whereby, with the Advice of his Council of Officers, he did devolve and in- truſt the ſupreme Authority and Government of this Commonwealth into the Hands of the Perſons then met; and declar'd, " That they, " or any forty of them, were to be held and " ackowledg'd the ſupreme Authority of the " Na-

His Speech to them.

He by an Inſtrument conſtitutes them the ſupreme Authority.

1653. "Nation, unto whom all Perſons within the "ſame were to yield Obedience and Subjection: "That they ſhould not ſit longer than the "third of *November*, 1654. and three Months "before their Diſſolution, ſhould make choice "of other Perſons to ſucceed them; who were "not to ſit longer than a Year, and to pro-"vide for a like Succeſſion in the Govern-"ment."

Their Proceedings.

Then the General and his Officers withdrew, and the Perſons thus commiſſion'd adjourn'd themſelves to the next Day, to meet in the Parliament-houſe; where they kept a Faſt, and publiſh'd a Declaration, *to ſtir up the godly of the Nation to ſeek God for a Bleſſing upon their Proceedings.* They choſe Mr. *Rouſe*, an old Gentleman of *Devonſhire*, who had been a Member of the Long Parliament, to be their Speaker; reſolv'd, that General *Cromwell* and his chief Officers, *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, *Desborough*, and *Thomlinſon*, ſhould ſit in the Houſe as Members; and at once voted themſelves to be *the Parliament of the Commonwealth of* England, and that all Addreſſes ſhould be made to them under that Title. Then they appointed ſeveral Committees, 1. *To conſider Matters touching the Law.* 2. *Touching Priſoners and Priſons.* 3. *For Inſpection into Treaſuries, and eaſing publick Charges.* 4. *For* Ireland. 5. *For* Scotland. 6. *For the Army.* 7. *For Petitions.* 8. *To conſider what ſhall be offer'd about publick Debts, publick Fraud, and Breaches of Truſt.* 9. *For regulating Commiſſions of the Peace, and for making Proviſion for the Poor.* 10. *For Advance of Trade.* 11. *For Advancement of Learning.* And they referr'd it to a Committee to conſider of the Laws that hinder'd the Progreſs of the Goſpel, that they might be repeal'd. The chief Laws

Laws made by this Aſſembly were theſe: One for puniſhing ſeditious Sea-men: Another for marrying by Juſtices of Peace, and regiſtring Marriages, Births and Burials; A third concerning the Plantation of *Ireland*, ſettling the Lands there upon the Adventurers and Soldiers: A fourth for Payment of ſome publick Debts. 1653. Acts paſs'd by them.

Whitelock ſays, It was much wonder'd by ſome, that theſe Gentlemen, many of whom were Perſons of Fortune and Knowledge, would upon ſuch a Summons, and from ſuch Hands, take upon them the ſupreme Authority of this Nation. The Lord *Clarendon* informs us, that there were amongſt them divers of the Quality and Degree of Gentlemen, who had Eſtates, and ſuch a Proportion of Credit and Reputation, as could conſiſt with the Guilt they had contracted: But he ſays, that much the major Part of them conſiſted of inferior Perſons, of no Quality or Name, Artificers of the meaneſt Trades, known only by their Gifts in Praying and Preaching; which was now practiſed by all Degrees of Men, but Scholars, throughout the Kingdom. *Ludlow* gives them this Character: Their Character.

" Many of the Members of this Aſſembly " had manifeſted a good Affection to the pub- " lick Cauſe; (*he means* a Commonwealth:) " But ſome among them were brought in as " Spies and Trepanners; who tho' they had " always been of the contrary Party, made the " higheſt Pretenſions to Honeſty, and the Ser- " vice of the Nation. This Aſſembly there- " fore being compos'd for the moſt Part of " honeſt and well-meaning Perſons, who having " good Intentions, were leſs apt to ſuſpect the " evil Deſigns of others, thought themſelves " in full Poſſeſſion of the Power and Authori-

" ty

1653. " ty of the Nation, *&c.*" And others ſpeak thus of them: " This very Parliament, which " had indeed procur'd very beneficial Orders " in Matters of leſſer Moment, in the greater " Concernments had not ſo good Fortune. " There was ſo much Confuſion in their Coun- " ſels, ſuch a Contrariety in their Opinions, " ſuch a Diſſonancy in their Actings, and Diſ- " parity in their Aims and Projections, as that " this Senate was more like a Monſter with " many Heads, than a well ordered grand Aſ- " ſembly or ſupreme Council." One *Praiſe-God Barebones*, a *Leather-Seller* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, was a very buſy Man in this Aſſembly; whence it had the Name of *Barebone's Parliament*. It was alſo call'd by ſome the *Little Parliament*; and from an Order that none ſhould be admitted into the ſervice of the Houſe, but ſuch of whoſe *real Godlineſs* they were firſt ſatisfy'd, it was call'd the *Godly Parliament*.

John Lilburn tried and acquitted.

Under this Change of Government, the furious *John Lilburn*, whoſe turbulent Spirit in the time of the late Parliament had procur'd his Baniſhment, now finding their Power at an end, came over into *England*, and very confidently addreſs'd himſelf to General *Cromwell* for Protection. But the General well knowing of what Spirit *John* was, committed him to *Newgate*, and left him to the Law: Whereby he underwent a ſtrict Trial, in which he diſcover'd his Parts and Subtlety by the Variety of his Pleas, and his invincible Temper by the Boldneſs of his Replies; and by the favour of the Jury was at laſt acquitted. This Perſon was of ſo undaunted and ungovernable a Temper, as can ſcarce be parallel'd in any Nation. He was whipp'd and pillory'd in the Time of the late King, and ſuffer'd three Years Impriſonment,

ſonment, till the times turn'd; when coming into Play again, he became a grand Leveller, and violent Oppoſer of all that was uppermoſt. He obtain'd the Name of *Free-born John*, and had ſuch an inveterate Spirit of Contradiction, that 'twas commonly ſaid of him, *That if the World was empty'd of all but himſelf*, John *would be againſt* Lilburn, *and* Lilburn *againſt* John. *Cromwell* kept him in Priſon for ſeveral Years after this, and he at laſt dy'd a *Quaker*. 1653.

The *Dutch* were ſo humbled by the late Defeat, that they immediately took up a Reſolution for Peace, and ſent over to *England* a Veſſel with a white Flag, and a Meſſenger to prepare the Way for two Ambaſſadors to come over for that Purpoſe. General *Cromwell* was not averſe to a Treaty, but would allow of no Ceſſation till all was concluded. This being known in *Holland*, they could not bear to think of ſuffering ſo long the Diſadvantage of being beſieg'd, and ſhut up in their Ports; but with all poſſible Expedition prepar'd another Fleet, that might be ſufficient to remove the *Engliſh* from thence; ſo that in leſs than two Months after their Defeat, they had a Fleet of a hundred and twenty five Sail. From theſe wonderful Preparations, they had ſo great Confidence of Succeſs, that they ſent Admiral *Van Trump* out of the *Wielings* with ninety five Sail before the reſt were ready, which *De Wit* ſoon after brought up to him from the *Texel*. The *Dutch* again ſue for Peace.

On the 29th of *July*, the *Engliſh* Scouts diſcover'd *Van Trump*'s Fleet; of which they gave Notice, that the whole Fleet, which then lay about three Leagues off to Sea, might make up to engage them: But the Wind being againſt them, kept them from any Action, till about Six in the Evening; when about Thirty nimble They are again defeated by the *Engliſh* in a terrible Sea fight.

Fri-

1653. Frigats (the reſt being ſtill a-Stern) began the Encounter, which continu'd till they were parted by the Night. The *Dutch* bore away towards the *Texel*, and being reinforc'd by the Ships under *De Wit*, which were the prime of their Navy, whereon they chiefly rely'd, *Van Trump* immediately endeavour'd to put all in a fighting Poſture, deſigning to engage the next Day; when the Wind being very high, the *Engliſh* Fleet, for fear of falling upon the Flats, ſtood out to Sea. This made many of the *Dutch* ſuppoſe that the *Engliſh* were flying; inſomuch that one of the Captains ſaid to *Van Trump*, *Sir, theſe Dogs durſt not ſtand one Broadſide from your Excellency; you may ſee them plainly running home, and therefore, my Lord, miſs not the Opportunity.* But *Van Trump*, who had had ſufficient Experience of the *Engliſh*, and knew the meaning of their ſtanding off, gave him this ſhort Anſwer, *Do you look to your Charge; for if the* Engliſh *were but twenty Sail, I am ſure they would fight us.* The next Morning proving fair, both Fleets prepar'd for the Battle; and about five a Clock, the *Dutch* having the Weathergage, began the fight ſomewhat at a Diſtance; but it was not long before both Fleets were deſperately engag'd. The Sea was never adorn'd with a more gallant Sight in the beginning of the Day, nor cover'd with a more diſmal one in the latter End; and no Fight was ever carry'd on with more bloody Obſtinacy and Rage, than this was for ſeveral Hours together. In the midſt of this terrible Encounter, Admiral *Van Trump*, the Glory of the *Dutch* Nation, as he ſtood upon his Quarter-Deck with his Sword drawn, bravely encouraging his Men, being ſhot into the Heart with a Muſquet-Ball, dropt down dead without ſpeaking a Word.

Word. This ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Enemy, and put them in ſuch Confuſion, that they fled and made all the Sail they could towards the *Texel*. About thirty of their Men of War were fired or ſunk, and a great many Priſoners taken. The Victory was great, but coſt the *Engliſh* dear; for eight of their brave Captains, with about four hundred Men, were ſlain, and about ſeven hundred wounded; tho' they loſt but one Ship. This Victory was ſo acceptable to General *Cromwell*'s Parliament, that they appointed a Day of Thankſgiving for it, and order'd a Narrative of it to be publickly read; and gave ſeveral gold Chains to *Blake*, *Monk*, *Penn* and *Lawſon*, for their good Service, and a Gratuity to the reſt of the Officers and Seamen according to their Quality: And 'tis ſaid that the Lord General himſelf put the Chain and the Medal with the Repreſentation of a Sea-fight, about *Monk*'s Neck, and having invited him to Dinner, made him wear it all the while. 1653.

They apply themſelves to the Council of State and to the Parliament, for Peace, but in vain.

In *Holland*, after this laſt Defeat, and the Loſs of their brave Admiral, all Things were in great Confuſion and Diſtraction: The Common People no longer obey'd their Government; the Placarts of the States General were contemn'd, and they in danger to be ruined and plunder'd by the ignorant and furious Rabble. They therefore with all Submiſſion apply'd themſelves by their Ambaſſadors to the *Engliſh* Council of State; but from them they could obtain no other Terms of Peace, than a Coalition, Satisfaction for Damages, and Security againſt the like for the future, and that the *Dutch* ſhould take a Leaſe for twenty one Years for Fiſhing, and pay an annual Rent. The Council of State, being thus reſolute, the Plenipotentiaries

1653. aries resolv'd to try what Terms of Peace might be had from the Parliament: But here they were more confounded and perplex'd than before; they found it was very difficult to treat with, and impossible to prevail upon these Men, who took the *Dutch* for *the Outworks of* Babylon, and look'd upon them *as carnal and worldly Politicians, and Enemies to the Kingdom of Christ, which they thought was now approaching.* In this difficult Conjuncture, the States met to consult what was fit to be done. 'Twas the Opinion of *Holland*, never to enter into a Coalition with *England*, but that a strict League defensive should be propos'd; that they ought to contract foreign Amities, particularly with *France*, and to equip out a Fleet with all Expedition. The rest of the Provinces were for making a League with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and other *German* Princes, and for assisting the *Scots*, many of whom were now rising under Major-General *Middleton.* But these Treaties were remote and dangerous, whilst their Necessities were present; for which reason they gave Orders to their Plenipotentiaries, "To protract time according as they saw "Disorders to encrease between *Cromwell* and "his supreme Authority; to be ample in the "generals concerning the Defence of the Reformed Religion, and of the Houshold of "Faith; to reject the Coalition, to offer to "enter into a strict and intimate League; but "deal as tenderly as they could in Point of "Reparation, Satisfaction, or Security."

This being all known to the Council of State, it was communicated to the Parliament; who thereupon said, "That it was no more than "was propheſy'd in Scripture, and in Course "to be expected, *That the Gentiles should rage,*

"*and*

" *and the Kings of the Earth ſet themſelves a-* 1653.
" *gainſt the Kingdom of Chriſt; but they ſhould*
" *fall before him, and be broken in pieces.*" And they reſolv'd now to humble them, by impoſing very hard and mortifying Articles upon them; ſo that they ſeem'd to be in no better State, than before the Long Parliament was diſſolv'd. In this Extremity, the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries made their Applications to the Lord General *Cromwell*, aſſuring him, " That in " Caſe he would depoſe the preſent Powers, " and aſſume the Government to himſelf, " they would be ready to accord with him " upon more moderate Terms, and enter into " ſuch a Defenſive Alliance, as would ſecure " him againſt all his foreign and domeſtick E- " nemies." The General found, that the Proceedings of this Parliament, tho' all of his own chuſing, were ſo uncommon and unaccountable in many Particulars, that none could judge of their Deſigns, or where they would end. And ſo upon both theſe Accounts he reſolv'd to put a Period to their Power; and the means of doing it were concerted with *Rouſe* the Speaker, and ſome of the General's ſelect Friends in the Houſe, who were to bring it to bear with as little Diſturbance as might be.

They treat privately with General *Cromwell*.

Accordingly on the 12th of *December* in the Morning, the Members who were in the Secret being met a little earlier than uſual, it was mov'd in the Houſe, *That the ſitting of this Parliament any longer, would not be for the good of the Commonwealth, and that it would be fit for them to reſign up their Powers into the Hands of the Lord General.* This being ſeconded and urged by *Sydenham*, *Wolſley*, and others, the Members on the contrary ſide who were there, were much ſtartled and ſpoke vehement-

1653. ly againſt it: Upon which, thoſe who were for a Reſignation, being apprehenſive, that by delaying time more might come to the Houſe and out-vote them, preſently mov'd, *That all who were for a Diſſolution, ſhould riſe and walk out.* Accordingly, the Speaker and as many Members as would follow him, went with the Mace to *Whitehall*, and by a Writing under their Hands reſign'd up their Powers to the General. Above Twenty of the Members, whereof Major General *Harriſon* was one, continuing ſtill in the Houſe, plac'd Mr. *Moyer* in the Chair, and fell to proteſting againſt what the reſt had done; but a Party of Soldiers was ſent to turn them out, and ſo a Period was put to this Enthuſiaſtick Aſſembly, after a Seſſion of five Months and eight Days.

The Parliament reſign their Powers to him.

By this Reſignation, the politick *Cromwell* with his Council of Officers, was once more poſſeſs'd of the ſupreme Sovereign Power of the Kingdom; whereupon he thought fit to adviſe with them, and with other Perſons of Intereſt in the Nation, *How this great Burden of governing* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *with the Armies therein, and the Navy at Sea, ſhould be born, and by whom.* Theſe ſoon reſolv'd, *That a Council of godly, able and diſcreet Perſons ſhould be named; and that the* Lord-General *ſhould be choſen* Lord Protector *of the three Nations.*

He conſults with his Council of Officers.

Upon this, a large Inſtrument was drawn up, entituled, *The Government of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; commonly call'd, THE INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT. It conſiſted of forty two Articles, and was in ſubſtance as follows:

He is declar'd *Protector* by the *Inſtrument of Government.*

" That the ſupreme Legiſlative Authority " be and reſide in a ſingle Perſon, and the Peo-

" ple

" ple in Parliament; the Style of which Per- 1652.
" ſon to be, *Lord* PROTECTOR *of the Com-*
" *monwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.
" The executive Power to be in the *Protector*,
" with the Advice of his Council; the Num-
" ber whereof not to exceed Twenty One, nor
" be leſs than Thirteen. All Proceedings to
" run in the Name and Stile of the *Lord Pro-*
" *tector*; and all Honours, Offices and Titles
" to be deriv'd from him; and that he may
" pardon all Offences but Treaſon and Murder.
" The *Militia* in time of Parliament, to be in
" his and their Hands; but in the Intervals
" only in his and his Council's. He and his
" Council to make War and Peace with foreign
" Princes. Not to make new Laws, or abro-
" gate old Ones without Conſent of Parliament.
" A Parliament to be ſummoned to meet at
" *Weſtminſter* upon the third Day of *Septem-*
" *ber*, 1654. and afterwards every third Year,
" and if need be oftener, which the *Protector*
" ſhall not diſſolve without Conſent in Parlia-
" ment, till after five Months. The Parlia-
" ment to conſiſt of four Hundred *Engliſh*, to
" be choſen according to the Proportions and
" Numbers hereafter expreſs'd, that is to ſay,
" For the County of *Bedford*, ſix; *viz.* For
" the Town of *Bedford*, one; for the County
" of *Bedford*, five. For the County of *Berks*,
" ſeven; *viz.* For the Borough of *Abingdon*,
" one; for the Borough of *Reading*, one; for
" the County of *Berks*, five, *&c.* (The Mem-
" bers for *Cornwall* were in this Inſtrument re-
" duc'd to Twelve; thoſe for *Eſſex* were en-
" larg'd to ſixteen; and the City of *London*
" was to chuſe ſix.) The Members for *Scot-*
" *land* were to be Thirty, and the ſame Num-
" ber for *Ireland*. The ſummoning the Parlia-

1653. " ment to paſs under the Seal of the Common-
" wealth to the Sheriffs; and if the *Protector*
" omit or deny that, then the Commiſſioner of
" the Seal to be held under Pain of Treaſon to
" iſſue out ſuch Writs; and in caſe of failure
" in him, the High-Sheriffs. Such as are elect-
" ed to be return'd into the *Chancery* by the
" chief Magiſtrates (Sheriffs, Mayors or Bai-
" liffs) within twenty Days after the Election.
" If either the Sheriff, Mayor, or Bailiff make
" a falſe Return, or any ways procure an un-
" due Election, let him be fin'd two thouſand
" Pounds. Thoſe who have born Arms againſt
" the Parliament to be uncapable of being e-
" lected, or giving their Vote for any Mem-
" bers to ſerve in the next Parliament, or in
" the three ſucceeding Triennial Parliaments;
" and *Iriſh* Rebels and *Papiſts* to be for ever
" uncapable. None to be elected under the
" Age of twenty one Years, nor unleſs he be
" a Man of good Converſation. None to
" have Votes in Elections, but ſuch as are
" worth 200 *l.* Sixty to make a *Quorum*. Bills
" preſented to the *Protector*, if not aſſented to
" by him within twenty Days, to paſs into
" Laws notwithſtanding; provided they contain
" nothing contrary to this Inſtrument. A compe-
" tent Revenue to be ſettled for the maintenance
" of ten Thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, and
" twenty Thouſand Foot in *England*, *Scotland*
" and *Ireland*, and for a convenient number of
" Ships to guard the Seas; and upon abating
" any of the Forces by Land or Sea, the Mo-
" neys to be brought to the *Exchequer* to ſerve
" ſudden Occaſions. The raiſing of Money
" for defraying the Charge of the preſent ex-
" traordinary Forces both at Land and Sea, to
" be by Conſent in Parliament, and not other-
" wiſe;

" wiſe; ſave only that the *Protector* with the 1653.
" Advice of his Council, ſhall have Power, un-
" til the Meeting of the firſt Parliament, to
" raiſe Money for the Purpoſes aforeſaid, and
" alſo to make Laws and Ordinances for the
" Peace and Welfare of theſe Nations; which
" ſhall be in force, till the Parliament ſhall take
" Order concerning the ſame. All forfeited
" Lands unſold to belong to the *Protector*.
" The *Protectorate* to be elective, but the Roy-
" al Family to be excluded. *Oliver Cromwell*
" to be the preſent *Protector*. All the great
" Offices of the Commonwealth, ſuch as Chan-
" cellor, Keeper of the Seal, Treaſurer, Ad-
" miral, Governours of *Ireland* and *Scotland*,
" *&c.* if they become void in time of Parlia-
" ment, to be ſupply'd with their Approbation,
" and in Intervals of Parliament with the Ap-
" probation of the Council. The Chriſtian Re-
" ligion, as contain'd in the Holy Scriptures,
" to be the publick Profeſſion of theſe Nati-
" ons; and thoſe that adminiſter it to be main-
" tain'd by the Publick, but by ſome Way
" more convenient and leſs liable to Envy than
" Tithes. None to be compell'd to conſent to
" the publick Profeſſion by Fine or any Pu-
" niſhment whatever, but only by Perſuaſion
" and Arguments. None that profeſs Faith in
" Chriſt, however otherwiſe they differ, to be
" reſtrained from, but to be protected in the
" Exerciſe of their Religion, ſo they do not
" quarrel with and diſturb others; this Liber-
" ty not to extend to *Popery* or *Prelacy*.
" All Sales of Parliament to ſtand good. Ar-
" ticles of Peace to be kept. The Protectors
" ſucceſſively, upon entering on their Charge,
" to Swear to procure by all means the Peace,
" Quiet and Welfare of the Commonwealth,

1653. " to obſerve theſe Articles, and to adminiſter " all Things (to their Power) according to the " Laws, Statutes and Cuſtoms."

He is inſtall'd.

All Things being prepar'd, on the 16th of *December* about three in the Afternoon, his Excellency the Lord General went from *Whitehall* to the *Chancery* Court, in the following Manner: The Commiſſioners of the Great Seal march'd firſt; then the Judges and Barons in their Robes; next to them, the Council of the Commonwealth; then the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of *London*: After them, came the Lord-General, attended with the chief Officers of the Army. In this Proceſſion they aſcended the *Chancery*-Court, where was ſet a rich Chair of State, with a large Cuſhion, and Carpets on the Floor. The General ſtood on the left Hand of it uncover'd, till the foremention'd Inſtrument was read; which his Excellency ſubſcrib'd in the face of the Court, and took an Oath in theſe Words: " I do promiſe " in the Preſence of God, that I will not vio- " late or infringe the Matters and Things con- " tain'd in this Inſtrument; but to my Power, " obſerve the ſame, and cauſe them to be ob- " ſerv'd; and ſhall in all other Things, to the " beſt of my Underſtanding, govern theſe Na- " tions according to the Laws, Statutes and " Cuſtoms, ſeeking their Peace, and cauſing " Juſtice and Law to be equally adminiſtred." This done, he ſat down in the Chair cover'd; and the Commiſſioners deliver'd up the Great Seal to him, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance; which the Protector immediately return'd to them again. The Ceremony being over, the Soldiers with a ſhout cry'd out, *God bleſs the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland.

And

And ſo they went back to *Whitehall*, the Lord Mayor uncover'd, carrying the Sword before his Highneſs. When they came into the *Banquetting-Houſe*, Mr. *Lockier* made an Exhortation to them, and ſo the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Judges departed. 1653.

He is proclaim'd.

Preſently after, the following Proclamation, ſet forth by the Council, was publiſh'd in the *Palace-Yard*, at the Old *Exchange*, and ſeveral other Places in *London*; and as ſoon as could be, throughout *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. "Whereas the late Parliament diſſolving themſelves, and reſigning their Powers and Authorities, the Government of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by a LORD PROTECTOR, and ſucceſſive *Triennial Parliaments*, is now eſtabliſh'd: And whereas *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth, is declar'd LORD PROTECTOR of the ſaid Nations, and hath accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it neceſſary (as we hereby do) to make Publication of the Premiſes, and ſtrictly to charge and command all, and every Perſon and Perſons, of what Quality and Condition ſoever, in any of the ſaid three Nations, to take notice thereof, and to conform and ſubmit themſelves to the Government ſo eſtabliſh'd. And all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other publick Miniſters and Officers, whom this may concern, are requir'd to cauſe this Proclamation to be forthwith publiſh'd in their reſpective Counties, Cities, Corporations, and Market-Towns; to the end none may have Cauſe to pretend Ignorance in this behalf." Upon this new Advancement, we are told, that *Cromwell* obſerv'd new and great State, and all Ceremonies

and

1653. and Reſpects were paid to him by all ſorts of Men, as to their Prince.

Thus, as has been obſerv'd, did this extraordinary Man, with ſo little Pains, mount himſelf into the Throne of three Kingdoms, without the Title of *King*, but with more Power and Authority than had ever been exercis'd by any preceding King; and receiv'd greater Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem from all the Kings and Princes in *Chriſtendom*, than had ever been ſhewn to any Monarch of theſe Nations: Which was the more wonderful, in that they all hated him, when they trembled at his Power, and courted his Friendſhip.

CHAP. III.

From his being declar'd PROTECTOR, *to the Meeting of his Second Parliament.*

His Condition and Proceedings at his firſt entering upon the Government.

CROMWELL being thus rais'd to the Power of a Monarch, proceeded in the Exerciſe of his Government, with the greateſt Vigor and Induſtry. He and his Council ſet forth ſeveral Ordinances; among the reſt, one declaring what Offences ſhould be adjudg'd Treaſon; and another for repealing thoſe Acts and Reſolves of Parliament, which had formerly been made for ſubſcribing to the *Engagement*. At his firſt aſſuming the Government, there were three great Parties in the Nation all againſt him, the *Epiſcopal Party*, the *Presbyterians*, and the *Republicans*: And it requir'd the greateſt Dexterity and Skill to manage theſe very oppoſite

posite Factions, and to prevent the ill Effects of the Plots and Conspiracies they were so ready to run into. He had only the Army to rely upon; and that *Enthusiastick* Spirit he had taken so much Pains to raise among them, render'd them very intractable: So that he was forc'd to break and imprison many of his Officers; and he flatter'd the rest as well as he could, going on in his old Way of long and dark Discourses, Sermons and Prayers. 1653. His Management with the Army.

He was apprehensive of Assassination, and other Plottings from the *Cavalier* Party; as to the former of which, he took a Method that prov'd of great Use to him: He would many times openly declare, "That in "a War, it was necessary to return upon any "side, all the violent Things that any of the "one side did to the other; and this for the "preventing greater Mischief, and for bring-"ing Men to fair War: And that Assassinations "were such detestable Things, that he would "never begin them; but if any of the King's "Party should endeavour to assassinate him, "and fail in it, he would make an assassina-"ting War of it, and destroy the whole Fa-"mily." And he pretended he had Instruments to do this, whenever he should order it. This struck such a Terror, that it prov'd a better Security to him than his Guards. And whenever they were plotting against him, he had his Agents and Spies amongst them, to give him Notice of their Preparations and Proceedings; by which means all their Schemes were broken, and their Designs frustrate, before they could bring them to Perfection. With the Cavaliers.

The *Presbyterians* so dreaded the Fury of the Commonwealth Party, that they look'd upon *Cromwell*'s turning them out to be a happy With the Presbyterians.

1653. Deliverance for them: And to ſoften theſe the more, he aſſur'd them he would maintain a publick Miniſtry with all due Encouragement, which the *Republicans* were moſtly againſt; and he join'd them in a Commiſſion with ſome *Independents* to be *Tryers* of all publick Preachers, who ſhould for the future be admitted to any Benefice. The Perſons ſo commiſſion'd did likewiſe diſpoſe of all the Churches that were in the Gift of the Crown, of the Biſhops, and of the Cathedral Churches. Nevertheleſs, when he perceiv'd that the *Presbyterians* began to take too much upon them, to be uneaſy under the Government, or meddle in Civil Affairs, he found means to mortify them, and let looſe againſt them thoſe of the other Sects, who took pleaſure in diſputing with their Preachers, and interrupting them in their religious Worſhip; and 'tis ſaid, he was by many heard to glory, *That he had curb'd that inſolent Sect, that would ſuffer none but it ſelf.* So that they were forc'd to thank him for permitting them the Exerciſe of their religious Worſhip in their own Congregations.

With the Commonwealth Party.

The *Republican* Party were his greateſt Enemies, and moſt bent on his Ruin, looking on him as the Perſon who had perfidiouſly broken all their Meaſures, and betray'd their glorious Cauſe. This Party therefore he ſtudy'd by all means to divide among themſelves, and to ſet the Fifth-Monarchy Men, and other Enthuſiaſts, againſt thoſe who pretended to little or no Religion, and proceeded only upon the Principles of Civil Liberty; ſuch as *Algernoon Sidney*, *Henry Nevill*, *Martin*, *Wildman*, and *Harrington*.

As to *Vane* and his Party, who were likewiſe call'd *Independents*, they indeed, from the time

time they were turn'd out of the Long Parliament, retir'd quietly into the Country, where they endeavour'd all they could to prejudice their Neighbours againſt the preſent Government; and yet manag'd themſelves with ſo much Caution, as not to diſturb the Quiet of the Nation, nor give the Protector any great Advantage againſt them. 1653.

The *Levellers*, many of whom had been the moſt active *Agitators* in the Army, were the moſt furious and deſperate of all the Commonwealth Party. Theſe from the time that the General aſſum'd the Title of *Protector*, which was to them as odious as that of *King*, profeſs'd a mortal Hatred to his Perſon; and he knew very well, that theſe Men as well as the laſt mention'd, had great Credit in his Army, and with ſome of the chief Officers; ſo that he more really dreaded them, than all the King's Party, and ſubtilly colour'd many of the Preparations he made againſt them, as if they were deſign'd againſt the other. The Fifth-Monarchy Men ſeem'd to be in daily Expectation of the Coming of King *Jeſus*, and the Protector found it no eaſy Matter to give them Satisfaction, ſince his aſſuming the Government after this manner, look'd like a ſtep to Kingſhip, which they repreſented as the great Anti-chriſt, which hinder'd Chriſt's being ſet on his Throne. To theſe Men he would ſay with many Tears, "That he would "rather have taken a Shepherd's Staff than the "Protectorſhip, ſince nothing was more con-"trary to his Genius, than a ſhew of Great-"neſs: But he ſaw it was neceſſary at that "time, to keep the Nation from falling into "extreme Diſorder, and from becoming open "to the Common Enemy; and therefore he "only ſtept in between the Living and the

"Dead,

1653. "Dead, in that Interval, till God ſhould di-
"rect them on what Bottom they ought to
"ſettle; and then he would ſurrender the hea-
"vy Load lying upon him, with a Joy equal
"to the Sorrow with which he was affected,
"while under that ſhew of Dignity." He would alſo carry himſelf with great Familiarity towards theſe Men, and enter into the Terms of their old Equality, ſhutting the Door, and making them ſit down covered by him, that they might ſee how little he car'd for thoſe Diſtances, which for form's ſake he was forc'd to keep up with others; and their Diſcourſe commonly ended in a long Prayer. Thus with much ado, he pretty well manag'd the *Enthuſiaſts* of the Commonwealth Party. As to the other *Republicans*, who were inclin'd to Deiſm, he call'd them the *Heathens*, and acknowledg'd he could not ſo eaſily work upon them. He had ſome Chaplains of all ſorts; and became at length more gentle towards the Epiſcopal Party, who had their Meetings in ſeveral Places about *London*, without being moleſted by him. In the end, even the *Roman Catholicks* courted him; and he with wonderful Art carry'd Things farther with all Parties than was thought poſſible, conſidering the great Difficulties he had to encounter with.

His firſt Council.

That he might the better manage the ſeveral Factions he ſtood moſt in awe of, he made choice of the moſt active and leading Men into his Council, by whoſe Influence he had the guiding of all the reſt of each Party. The firſt Perſons nominated to be of his Council, purſuant to the *Inſtrument of Government*, were, Major-General *Lambert*, Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, Colonel *Montague* (afterwards made Earl of *Sandwich* by King *Charles* II.) *Philip* Lord Viſcount *Liſle* (ſince Earl of *Leiceſter*) Colo-

Colonel *Desborough*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* (after Earl of *Shaftsbury*) Sir *Charles Woolſley*, Major-General *Skippon*, Mr. *Strickland*, Colonel *Sydenham*, Colonel *Jones*, Mr. *Rouſe*, Mr. *Lawrence*, and Mr. *Major*; in all fifteen. 1653.

His magnificent Entertainment in the City.

All Things ſeeming to favour the Protector and his Government, both at Home and Abroad, he was invited by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, to dine at *Grocers-Hall* on the 18th Day of *February*, being *Aſhwedneſday*. Accordingly he rode thither in great State, the Streets being rail'd on both ſides, and the Rails cover'd with blue Cloth, and the ſeveral Companies in their Liveries ſtanding all the Way, according to their Superiority, with the City Banner and Streamers of the reſpective Companies ſet before them. The Lord Mayor *Viner*, with the Aldermen in Scarlet and Gold Chains, rode to *Temple-Bar*; where meeting his Highneſs with his Train, he deliver'd up the Sword to him; and after a ſhort Congratulatory Speech, they proceeded to *Grocers-Hall* in the following Manner: The City-Marſhal with ſome other Officers march'd firſt: Then ſix Trumpets, and after them his Highneſs's Life-Guard: Next, eight Trumpets more, follow'd by the City-Streamers: Then the Aldermen, and the two Sheriffs after them: Then his Highneſs's Heralds, with rich Coats, adorn'd with the Arms of the Commonwealth. After them, the Mace and Cap of Maintenance were carry'd before the Lord Mayor, who carry'd the Sword bare-headed before his Highneſs the Lord Protector, who follow'd with twelve Foot-men in grey Liveries laced with Silver, and other Ornaments. After the Protector rode Major-General *Skippon*, with the reſt

1653. reſt of the Council, and the great Officers of the Army. Being come to *Grocers-Hall*, the Recorder made a Speech to his Highneſs, declaring, "How happy that City did account "themſelves under his auſpicious Government, "and alſo in the Enjoyment of his Preſence "with them that Day." Then he was feaſted in a moſt ſplendid and magnificent Manner; and before his Departure he knighted the Lord Mayor with as much Grace as if he had been King. And now Addreſſes were preſented to the Lord Protector from all Parts of the three Nations, congratulating his Acceſſion to the Government: And ſeveral foreign Miniſters came over to him, acknowledging his Power, courting his Alliance, and giving him his Title of *Highneſs*.

Addreſſes and Embaſſies to him.

1654. And now the Lord Protector concluded the Peace with the *Dutch*, having brought them to accept of ſuch Conditions as he thought fit to give them; among which one was, *That they ſhould not permit any of the King's Party, or any Enemy of the Commonwealth of* England, *to reſide within their Dominions*; and another, which was contain'd in a ſecret Article, to which the Great Seal of the *States* was affixed, whereby they oblig'd themſelves, "Never to permit "the Prince of *Orange* to be their *Stadtholder*, "General or Admiral; and alſo to deliver up "the Iſland of *Polerone* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, "which they had taken from the *Engliſh* in "the Reign of King *James*, into the Hands "of the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company; and to "pay a good Sum of Money for the old barbarous Violence exercis'd towards the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*;" for which the two laſt Kings could not obtain any Satisfaction. And thus about the beginning of *April*, the whole

He concludes a Peace with the *Dutch*.

Peace was concluded between the Lord Protector and the States General, with all the Advantages to himſelf he could deſire. 1654.

The Lord Protector, according to the Power given him by the Inſtrument of Government, ſupply'd the Benches of the Courts at *Weſtminſter* with the ableſt of the Lawyers, whom he had invited to the publick Service. Mr. *Maynard*, *Twiſden*, *Nudigate*, *Windham*, *&c.* were made Serjeants at Law; and Mr. *Matthew Hale* one of the Juſtices of the Common-Pleas, *&c.* Mr. *John Thurloe*, who had been Secretary to the Chief-Juſtice *St. John*, when he was Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, was advanc'd to the Office of Secretary of State. And to keep the other two Nations in Order and Obedience, his Highneſs ſent General *Monk* back again into *Scotland*, and his youngeſt Son *Henry Cromwell* into *Ireland*, whom he made his Lieutenant of that Kingdom. He makes ſeveral Promotions.

As the Protector diſcover'd a wonderful Genius in the Management of Affairs at Home, ſo his Power and Policy were more and more obſerv'd and reverenc'd Abroad; and all Nations now contended, by their Ambaſſadors, which ſhould render themſelves moſt acceptable to him. *Denmark* had the Favour of being taken into the *Dutch* Treaty, upon the good Terms of making the *States* reſponſible for One Hundred and Forty Thouſand Pounds, to repair the Damage which the *Engliſh* ſuffer'd from the *Danes*. About the ſame Time, by the Negotiation of his Ambaſſador *Whitelock*, he made a firm Alliance with the Kingdom of *Sweden*. He forc'd *Portugal* to ſend an Ambaſſador to beg Peace, and to ſubmit to make Satisfaction for the Offence they had committed in receiving Prince *Rupert*, by the Payment of He is fear'd and courted by foreign Powers.

1654. a great Sum of Money; and brought even the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* to ſue for his Alliance: To which Purpoſe, the Ambaſſador of the former, on the 29th of *March*, addreſs'd himſelf thus to him:

The *French* Ambaſſador's Speech to him.

" Your moſt ſerene Highneſs has already re-
" ceiv'd ſome principal Aſſurances of the King
" my Maſter, of his Deſire to eſtabliſh a per-
" fect Correſpondency betwixt his Dominions
" and *England*. His Majeſty, this Day, gives
" to your Highneſs ſome publick Demonſtra-
" tion of the ſame; and his ſending his Am-
" baſſador to your Highneſs, does plainly
" ſhew, that the Eſteem which his Majeſty
" makes of your Highneſs, and Intereſt of his
" People, have more Power in his Counſels
" than many Conſiderations, that would be
" of great Concernment to a Prince leſs affected
" with the one and the other. This Proceed-
" ing, grounded upon ſuch ſound Principles,
" and ſo different from what is only guided by
" Ambition, renders the Amity of the King
" my Maſter as conſiderable for its Firmneſs
" as its Utility; for which Reaſon it is ſo
" eminently eſteem'd and courted by all the
" greateſt Princes and Potentates of the Earth.
" But his Majeſty communicates none to any
" with ſo much Joy and Chearfulneſs, as to
" thoſe whoſe virtuous Acts and extraordinary
" Merits render them more conſpicuouſly fa-
" mous, than the Largeneſs of their Domini-
" ons. His Majeſty is ſenſible, that all thoſe
" Advantages do wholly reſide in your High-
" neſs; and that the Divine Providence, after
" ſo many Calamities, could not deal more fa-
" vourably with theſe three Nations, nor cauſe
" them to forget their paſt Miſeries with
" greater Satisfaction, than by ſubmitting them

" to ſo juſt a Government. And ſince it is 1654.
" not ſufficient for the compleating of their
" Happineſs, to make them enjoy Peace at
" Home, becauſe it depends no leſs on good
" Correſpondency with Nations Abroad; the
" King my Maſter does not doubt but to find
" alſo the ſame Diſpoſition in your Highneſs,
" which his Majeſty here expreſſes in his Let-
" ters. After ſo many Diſpoſitions expreſs'd
" both by his Majeſty and your Highneſs,
" towards the Accommodation of the two
" Nations, there is Reaſon to believe, that
" their Wiſhes will be ſoon accompliſh'd. As
" for me, I have none greater, than to be able
" to ſerve the King my Maſter, with the good
" Pleaſure and Satisfaction of your Highneſs;
" and that the Happineſs I have to tender to
" your Highneſs the firſt Aſſurances of his
" Majeſty's Eſteem, may give me Occaſion,
" by my Services, to merit the Honour of your
" gracious Affection."

He makes an Union of the three Nations.

The Lord Protector now reſolv'd more firmly to unite the three Nations into one *Commonwealth*. Accordingly, with Conſent of his Council, he made an Ordinance, *April* the 12th, declaring, " How he had taken into
" Conſideration, that the People of *Scotland*
" ought to be united with the People of *En-*
" *gland*, into one Commonwealth, and under
" one Government; and had found, that in
" *December* 1651, the Parliament then ſitting
" had ſent Commiſſioners into *Scotland*, to in-
" vite the People of that Nation unto ſuch a
" happy Union; who proceeded ſo far therein,
" that the Shires and Boroughs did accept of
" the ſaid Union, and aſſent thereunto: For
" the compleating and perfecting which Uni-
" on, he now Ordained, *That all the People of*

1654. " Scotland, *and of all the Dominions and Ter-*
" *ritories thereunto belonging, ſhould be incorpo-*
" *rated into one Commonwealth with* England;
" *and in every Parliament to be held ſucceſſive-*
" *ly for the ſaid Commonwealth, thirty Perſons*
" *ſhould be call'd from, and ſerve for* Scotland, *&c.*"
And ſhortly after, another Ordinance was made for a like Diſtribution of thirty Members from *Ireland*, to ſerve in the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*.

A Conſpiracy, for which *Gerard* and *Vowel* are executed.

About this Time, ſeveral Perſons were apprehended, and charg'd with a Conſpiracy to murder the Lord Protector as he ſhould be going to *Hampton-Court*, to ſeize the Guards, the *Tower* of *London*, and the Magazines, and to proclaim the King. The chief of theſe were Mr. *Somerſet Fox*, Mr. *John Gerard*, and Mr. *Vowel*; who being tried by a High Court of Juſtice, and condemn'd, *Fox*, who confeſs'd much of what was alledg'd againſt him, had the Benefit of a Reprieve; but *Gerard* was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, and *Vowel* hang'd at *Charing-Croſs*; both of them denying what they were accus'd of, and dying with great Magnanimity and Reſolution.

The *Portugal* Ambaſſador's Brother commits a Riot.

On the ſame Day, there was another Execution of an extraordinary Nature: Don *Panteleon Sa*, the *Portugal* Ambaſſador's Brother, a Knight of *Malta*, and a Perſon eminent in many great Actions, who out of Curioſity to ſee *England*, came over with the Ambaſſador, happen'd to have a Quarrel in the *New-Exchange* with the foremention'd Mr. *Gerard*; to revenge which, he went thither the next Day, with Servants arm'd with Swords and Piſtols; where they kill'd another Man, whom they took to be Mr. *Gerard*, and hurt and wounded ſeveral others. Upon this there was rais'd a great

Tumult, and the *Portugueſe* flying to the Ambaſſador's Houſe, the People came flocking thither from all Parts to ſeize the Murderers. *Cromwell* being inform'd of the Matter, ſent an Officer, with a Party of Soldiers, to demand and apprehend them; who more eſpecially demanded of the Ambaſſador the Perſon of his Brother, threatning if he was not deliver'd up, to break open the Houſe, and take him out by Force. The Ambaſſador inſiſted upon the Privilege due to his Houſe by the Law of Nations, and deſir'd Time to ſend to the Protector, to whom he made Complaint of the Violence done to him, and requeſted an Audience. His Highneſs ſent him Word, "That "a Gentleman had been murder'd, and others "wounded, and that *Juſtice muſt be ſatisfied*; "requiring, that all Perſons concern'd might "be deliver'd up to his Officer; without which, "if he ſhould withdraw his Soldiers, the Peo- "ple would execute Juſtice, by a Way for "which he would not be anſwerable: But this "being done, he ſhould have an Audience, "and all the Satisfaction it was in his Power "to give." The Ambaſſador finding it in vain to contend, and the Multitudes encreaſing their Cry, *That they would pull down the Houſe*, he was to his great Grief forc'd to deliver up his Brother with the reſt, who were all ſent Priſoners to *Newgate*. The Ambaſſador was moſt earneſt in his Sollicitations for his Brother, being willing the others ſhould be left to the Law; but all the Anſwer he could have, was, *That Juſtice muſt be done*. And Juſtice was done to the utmoſt; for being all tried by a Jury of half *Engliſh* and half Foreigners, as many as were found guilty, and among them the Ambaſſador's Brother, were condemn'd to die. 1654.

He is condemn'd and executed.

1654. die. All were hang'd at *Tyburn*, except Don *Pantaleon*; who immediately after the Execution of *Gerard*, was convey'd from *Newgate* to *Tower-Hill*, in a Mourning Coach and ſix Horſes, attended by ſeveral of his Brother's Retinue; and there on the ſame Scaffold loſt his Head, with as much Terror and Dejection of Spirit, as *Gerard* had done with Courage and Reſolution. This mightily rais'd the Opinion of the Protector's Juſtice, as well as of his Power. And 'tis very remarkable, that on the very Day of this Execution, the *Portugal* Ambaſſador was oblig'd to ſign the Articles of Peace between the two Nations; whereupon he immediately went out of Town.

Dr. *Welwood*'s Remark upon it.

And here Dr. *Welwood* remarks, "That "whatever Reaſons the Houſe of *Auſtria* had "to hate the Memory of *Cromwell*, yet his "cauſing the *Portugal* Ambaſſador's Brother "to be executed, notwithſtanding his Plea of "being a publick Miniſter as well as his Bro"ther, was near twenty Years after *Cromwell*'s "Death, brought as a Precedent by the Em"peror, to juſtify his arreſting and carrying "off the Prince of *Furſtenburgh* at the Treaty "of *Cologne*, notwithſtanding his being a Ple"nipotentiary for the Elector of that Name. "And in the printed Manifeſto publiſhed by "the Emperor upon that Occaſion, this Piece "of *Cromwell*'s Juſtice is related at large."

The Protector calls a Parliament.

The Lord Protector knowing, that tho' he had obtain'd the Government, it was not confirm'd to him by the People, reſolv'd, in Purſuance of the *Inſtrument of Government*, to ſummon a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 3d of *September*; and accordingly order'd Writs to be iſſued out for the Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament, after the Man-

Manner laid down in the ſaid *Inſtrument*. It was his greateſt Care how to manage this Aſſembly, ſo that they might proceed according to his own Deſires; but tho' he had a great Influence upon the People, and a great Awe upon the Sheriffs and Magiſtrates, and brought the Tryal of Elections into a Committee of his own Council, before the Opening of the Parliament, yet it prov'd not for his Purpoſe; as we ſhall ſee in the following Chapter. 1654.

CHAP. IV.

His Second PARLIAMENT.

ON the third Day of *September*, tho' it happen'd to be *Sunday*, the Lord Protector, who reckon'd That his fortunate Day, would have the Parliament open'd: And ſo the Members, after hearing a Sermon at *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, attended his Highneſs in the *Painted Chamber*; where he made a Speech to them, ſhewing the Cauſe of their Summons; after which, they went to their Houſe, and adjourn'd to the next Day. The Protector then rode in State from *Whitehall* to *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, ſome Hundreds of Gentlemen and Officers going before uncover'd, and next before the Coach, his Pages and Lacqueys richly clothed: On the one Side of his Coach, went *Strickland*, one of his Council, and Captain of his Guard, with the Maſter of the Ceremonies, both on Foot; and on the other Side, walk'd *Howard*, another Captain of the Guard. His Son *Henry* and *Lambert* ſat with him in

The Opening of his ſecond Parliament.

1654. the Coach, bare-headed. After the Coach came *Claypole*, Maſter of the Horſe, with a gallant led Horſe adorn'd with the richeſt Trappings; and next after him, the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, and of the Treaſury, and divers of the Council in Coaches, and the Ordinary Guards. Being come to the *Abbey*-Door, his Highneſs alighted; and the Officers of the Army and the Gentlemen went firſt, next them four Maces, then the Commiſſioners of the Seal, *Whitelock* carrying the Purſe, and *Lambert* the Sword before him. His Highneſs was ſeated over againſt the Pulpit, and the Members of Parliament plac'd themſelves on both Sides of him. After the Sermon, which was preach'd by Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, his Highneſs went in the ſame Equipage to the *Painted Chamber*; where being ſeated in a Chair of State ſet upon Steps, the Members ſitting upon Benches round about, all bare, his Highneſs put off his Hat, and made a long and ſubtle Speech to them, which was in Subſtance as follows:

His Speech to the Members.

He told them "the Danger of the *Levelling* Principles, and of the *Fifth-Monarchy* Opinions, and of the *Form of Godlineſs*, and the great Judgment that had been upon this Nation by Ten Years Civil War. That the two Pretenſions, *Liberty of the Subject*, and *Liberty of Conſcience* (two as glorious Things, and as much to be contended for, as any Gift God hath given us) were brought in to patronize thoſe Evils. Nay, theſe Abominations ſwelled to that height, that the Ax was laid to the Root of the Miniſtry, as *Babyloniſh* and *Antichriſtian*. While theſe Things were in the midſt of us, and the Nation rent and torn, one Family againſt another

" ther, and nothing in the Hearts and Minds 1654.
" of Men, but, *Overturn, overturn*; at the ſame
" Time ſwarms of *Jeſuits* came over, having
" their Conſiſtories abroad to rule all the Affairs
" of *England*, and the Dependencies thereof:
" And withal, the Nation was deeply engaged in
" a War with *Portugal*, *Holland* and *France*. In
" ſuch a heap of Confuſion was this Nation,
" that a ſpeedy Remedy muſt be apply'd: A
" Remedy hath been apply'd, *this Government*;
" *which (let Men ſay what they will) is calcula-*
" *ted for the People's Intereſt.* For his own
" Part, he could with Humbleneſs towards
" God, and Modeſty before them, recount
" ſomething in the behalf of it. It had endea-
" vour'd to reform the Laws, and had put
" Men of known Integrity and Ability into
" the Seats of Juſtice; had reform'd the *Chan-*
" *cery*, and ſettled a Way for Probation of Mi-
" niſters to preach the Goſpel. Beſides, it
" hath been inſtrumental to call a free Parlia-
" ment: *Bleſſed be God, we ſee here this Day a*
" *free Parliament!* And that it might continue
" ſo, he hop'd was in the Heart of every good
" Man of *England*; for his own Part, as he
" deſir'd it above his Life, ſo to keep it free,
" he ſhould value it above his Life. As for
" the Wars, a Peace was made with *Sweden*
" (wherein an honourable Perſon was inſtru-
" mental) with the *Danes*, with the *Dutch*,
" and with *Portugal*; and a Treaty was depen-
" ding with *France*. Theſe Things were but
" Entrances and Doors of Hope; but now he
" made no doubt, but God would enable them
" to lay the Top-ſtone of the Work. He re-
" commended this Maxim to them, *That Peace,*
" *tho' it be made, is not to be truſted farther*
" *than it conſiſts with Intereſt.* He told them,

" that

1654. " that the great End of Calling this Parliament " was, that the Work of God might go on, that " the Ship of this Commonwealth might be " brought into a ſafe Harbour; put them in " mind, that they had *Ireland* to look to, that " the beginning of that Government might be ſet- " tled in Terms of Honour; and adviſ'd them " to manage Affairs with Prudence, leſt fo- " reign States ſhould retain Hopes of Advan- " tage by their Confuſions. For himſelf, he " did not ſpeak like one that would be a Lord " over them, but as one that was reſolved to " be a Fellow Servant with them in this great " Affair. Then he wiſh'd them to repair to " their Houſe, and exerciſe their own Liberty " in the Choice of a Speaker."

They chuſe *Lenthal* their Speaker, and debate on the *Inſtrument of Government.*

Being come to the Parliament Houſe, they almoſt unanimouſly made Choice of the old Speaker Mr. *William Lenthal*, Maſter of the *Rolls*, to be their Speaker. This done, they preſently took the Protector's *Inſtrument of Government* into Conſideration; and the firſt Debate they fell upon, was, *Whether the ſupreme Legiſlative Power of the Nation ſhould be in a ſingle Perſon, and a Parliament.* And here many warm Speeches were made in direct Oppoſition to a ſingle Perſon; and one ſaid, " That " they could not but diſcern the Snares laid to " entrap the People's Privileges; and for his " own Part, as God had made him inſtrumen- " tal in cutting down Tyranny in one Perſon, " ſo he could not endure to ſee the Nation's " Liberties ſhackled by another, whoſe Right " to the Government could be meaſur'd out " no otherways than by the length of his " Sword, which was only that which embol- " den'd him to command his Commanders." Theſe Debates continu'd for ſeven or eight Days toge-

together, to the great Grief of the Protectorians, who to ſave themſelves were neceſſitated to find Means for protracting Time, and adjourning the Houſe when the Queſtion was ready to be put, becauſe they plainly ſaw it would be carry'd in the Negative. 1654.

The Protector diſpleas'd.

His Highneſs being inform'd of theſe Proceedings, and fearing to have that great Queſtion put, leſt he ſhould be depos'd by a Vote of this Aſſembly, on the 12th of *September* early in the Morning, caus'd a Guard to be plac'd at the Door of the Houſe, and ſent to the Lord Mayor to acquaint him with the Reaſons of what he was about to do, that he might prevent any Diſorder in the City. The Members coming at the uſual Hour, were deny'd Entrance, and commanded to attend the Lord Protector in the *Painted Chamber*; where he began with telling them *by what Means he came to the Government*, and declar'd, "That he "had preſs'd the Long Parliament as a Mem- "ber, a great many Times to put a Period to "themſelves, and told them, *That the Nation* "*loathed their ſitting*; and when they were diſ- "ſolv'd, there was no viſible repining at it, *no* "*not ſo much as the Barking of a Dog.*" Then expreſſing his great Grief and Concern for the Heats and Diviſions that were amongſt them, he ſaid, "That the other Day, when he told them "they were a *free Parliament*, he did alſo con- "ſider *there was a Reciprocation*: For that the "ſame Government which made them a *Par-* "*liament*, made him *Protector*; and as they "were entruſted with ſome Things, ſo he "was with others. That there were ſome "Things in the Government *Fundamental*, "which could not be alter'd; as, 1. *That* "*the Government ſhould be in one Perſon, and*

Makes another Speech to them.

"*a*

1654. "*a Parliament.* 2. *That Parliaments ſhould not* "*be made perpetual.* 3. *The* Militia *was not* "*to be intruſted in any one Hand or Power,* "*but ſo, that the Parliament ought to have a* "*check upon the Protector, and the Protector up-* "*on the Parliament.* 4. *That in Matters of* "*Religion, there ought to be Liberty of Conſci-* "*ence, and Means us'd to prevent Perſecution.* "For the reſt of the Things in the Govern- "ment, they were examinable and alterable, "as the State of Affairs ſhould require: But "he was ſorry to underſtand, that any of "them ſhould go about to overthrow what "was ſettled, contrary to their Truſt receiv'd "from the People; which could not but bring "on very great Inconveniencies: To prevent "which, he was neceſſitated to appoint a *Teſt*, "or *Recognition* of the Government, which "was to be ſign'd by them, before they went "any more into the Houſe."

He appoints them a *Teſt.*

The ſaid *Teſt* or *Recognition* was in theſe Words: *I* A. B. *do hereby freely Promiſe and Engage my ſelf to be true and faithful to the* Lord Protector *and the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; *and ſhall not (according to the Tenour of the* Indenture, *whereby I am return'd to ſerve in this preſent Parliament) propoſe, or give any Conſent to alter the Government, as it is ſettled in* one ſingle Perſon, *and a* Parliament.

Which is ſubſcrib'd by ſeveral Members.

This being ingro's'd in Parchment, was laid on a Table near the Door of the Houſe, for the Members to ſubſcribe before they ſhould be qualify'd to ſit. Accordingly, within a Day or two, it was ſign'd by about a Hundred and Thirty of them, and ſome Days after by ſeveral others, who thereupon took their Places in the Houſe. 'Tis ſaid, that thoſe who re-

refus'd to ſubſcribe this *Engagement*, were not only excluded, but ſome of them taken into Cuſtody. Major-General *Harriſon*, the Protector's late great Favourite, was now ſecur'd by a Party of Horſe, by his Highneſs's Order; and Colonel *Rich*, Mr. *Carew* and others, being ſummon'd before the Council, were requir'd to ſurrender their Commiſſions; and becauſe they refus'd to engage not to act againſt the Lord Protector and his Government, they were committed to Priſon. 1654.

A Debate ariſing in the Houſe concerning the *Recognition*, it was thereupon declar'd, "That it ſhould not be intended to compre- "hend the whole, contain'd in the Forty "Two Articles of the *Inſtrument of Govern-* "*ment*, but only that which requir'd the Go- "vernment of the Commonwealth to be by "a ſingle Perſon, and ſucceſſive Parliaments." Their Declaration thereupon

The great Point concerning the *ſingle Perſon* being over-rul'd, the Houſe apply'd themſelves to the Conſideration and Debate of the remaining Clauſes of the *Inſtrument of Government*. They declar'd, "That *Oliver Cromwell* ſhould "be Protector during Life, and limited the "Number of Forces to be kept up in *England*, "*Scotland* and *Ireland*, with Proviſion for the "Payment of them. They agreed upon the "Number of Ships, that they thought neceſſa- "ry for the guard of the Seas, and order'd "Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds a Year for "the Protector's own Expence, the Salaries "of his Council, the Judges, foreign Intelli- "gence, and the Reception of Ambaſſadors. "They alſo voted a Clauſe to be inſerted, to "declare the Rights of the People of *England*, "and particularly, That no Money ſhould be "raiſed upon the Nation, but by Authority "of They Debate the remaining Articles of Government.

1654. " of Parliament. And whereas by the *Inſtru-*
" *ment of Government* it was provided, that if
" the Parliament were not ſitting at the Death
" of the preſent Protector, the Council ſhould
" chuſe a Succeſſor; they reſolv'd, That no-
" thing ſhould be determined by the Council
" after his Death, but the Calling of a Parlia-
" ment, who were then to conſider what they
" would have done. They alſo approv'd and
" confim'd the preſent Lord Deputy of *Ireland*,
" the preſent Lords Commiſſioners of the Great
" Seal of *England*, the Commiſſioners of the
" Treaſury, and the two chief Juſtices." Theſe Debates continued for ſome Months, in which time alſo they took a tranſient View of the Protector's own Ordinances; particularly, one for paying the Money into the Treaſury, rais'd for the Propagation of the Goſpel in *Wales*: Another, to make Soldiers Free in Corporations: Another, to remove all ſcandalous Preachers and Miniſters; and a Fourth for the ſurveying of King's and Churches Lands. And having gone thro' the *Inſtrument of Government*, they paſs'd this additional Vote, *That no one Clauſe, of what they had agreed upon, ſhould be look'd upon as binding, unleſs the whole were conſented to.*

A private Accident to the Protector.

During theſe Debates in Parliament, an odd Accident happen'd to the Protector, which very much endanger'd his Life. He having taken upon himſelf the whole Government of the Nation, and ſent Ambaſſadors and Agents to foreign Kingdoms and States, was again very much courted by them, and preſented with the Rarities of ſeveral Countries; and the Duke of *Holſtein* among the reſt made him a Preſent of a gallant ſet of Grey *Friezeland* Coach-Horſes. With theſe he had a Mind to take the Air in the

the *Park*, attended only with his Secretary *Thurloe* and his Guards. Being come into the *Park*, he would needs take the Place of the Coach-Man; and ſo mounting the Box, he began to laſh and drive them on very furiouſly: But the Horſes not us'd to ſuch rough Management, ran away with full Speed, and never ſtopp'd, till their Driver was thrown with great Violence out of the Box; with which Fall his Piſtol fir'd in his Pocket, tho' he had the good Fortune to receive no hurt. 1654.

The Parliament not for his Purpoſe.

In the Debates upon the Government, many Things were ſaid, which gave great offence to the Protector and his Council, and made it plainly appear, that the Parliament were not inclinable to anſwer his whole Deſire and Expectation, and fall in with all he deſign'd. Hereupon he grew very uneaſy, till the five Months allow'd for their ſitting by his own *Inſtrument of Government*, ſhould be expir'd: And tho' the Form of Government which they had agreed to, differ'd not in any material Point from that which himſelf had ſet up, unleſs it were in reſerving the Nomination of his Succeſſor to the Parliament; yet this one Thing was thought very diſagreeble to him, and ſome of his Council. However, the Diſſolution of this Aſſembly, was after much Debate in Council, reſolv'd on; and ſo the five Months of their Seſſion, according to the Soldiers Account of twenty eight Days to the Month, were no ſooner ended, but the Members on the 22d of *January* were requir'd to attend him in the *Painted-Chamber*, where he diſſolv'd them with a moſt tedious and intricate Speech, of which we can inſert only a few Paſſages.

He makes a Speech and diſſolves them.

He began thus: "Gentlemen, I perceive "you are here as the Houſe of Parliament, "by

1654. " by your Speaker, whom I ſee here, and by
" your Faces, which are in a great Meaſure
" known to me. When I firſt met you in this
" Room, it was, to my Apprehenſion, the
" hopefulleſt Day that ever mine Eyes ſaw, as
" to Conſiderations of this World.——I met
" you a ſecond Time here, and I confeſs, at
" that Meeting I had much Abatement of my
" Hopes, tho' not a total Fruſtration. I con-
" feſs, that that which dampt my Hopes ſo
" ſoon, was ſomewhat that did look like a *Par-*
" *ricide.* It is obvious enough unto you, that
" the Management of Affairs did ſavour of a
" *Not-owning*, too too much ſavour, I ſay, of a
" *Not-owning* the *Authority* that call'd you hi-
" ther: But God left us not without an Ex-
" pedient, that gave a ſecond *Poſſibility*; ſhall
" I ſay a *Poſſibility?* It ſeem'd to me a *Proba-*
" *bility* of recovering out of that *diſſatisfy'd*
" *Condition* we were all then in, towards ſome
" *Mutuality* of *Satisfaction*; and therefore by
" that *Recognition*, ſuiting with the *Indenture*
" that return'd you hither, to which after-
" wards alſo was added your own *Declaration*,
" conformable to, and in acceptance of that
" Expedient, you had (tho' with a little *Check*)
" another Opportunity renewed unto you to have
" made this Nation as happy, as it could have
" been, if every Thing had ſmoothly run on
" from the firſt Hour of your Meeting.——
" You ſee you have me very much lock'd up,
" as to what you tranſacted among your ſelves
" from that Time to this; but ſomething I
" ſhall take Liberty to ſpeak of to you. As I
" may not take notice what you have been do-
" ing, ſo I think I have a very great Liberty
" to tell you, that I do not know what you
" have been doing: I do not know whether

" you

" you have been alive or dead; I have not 1654.
" once *heard* from you in all this Time, I have
" not, and that you all know: If that be a
" Fault, that I have not, ſurely it hath not
" been mine. —— There be ſome *Trees* that
" will not grow under the Shadow of other
" *Trees*: There be ſome that chuſe (a Man
" may ſay ſo by way of Alluſion) to thrive un-
" der the Shadow of other *Trees*. I will tell
" you what hath *thriven*, I will not ſay what
" you have *cheriſhed* under your *Shadow*; that
" were too hard: Inſtead of *Peace* and *Settle-*
" *ment*, inſtead of *Mercy* and *Truth* being
" brought together, *Righteouſneſs and Peace kiſ-*
" *ſing each other*, by reconciling the honeſt Peo-
" ple of theſe Nations, and ſettling the woful
" Diſtempers that are amongſt us; *Weeds* and
" *Nettles*, *Briers* and *Thorns*, have *thriven* un-
" der your Shadow; *Diſſettlement* and *Diviſi-*
" *on*, *Diſcontentment* and *Diſſatisfaction*, toge-
" ther with real *Dangers* to the whole, have
" been more multiply'd within theſe *five*
" *Months*, than in ſome *Years* before. Foun-
" dations have been alſo laid for the future re-
" newing the *Troubles* of theſe Nations, by all
" the *Enemies* of it *abroad* and at *home*: Let
" not theſe Words ſeem too ſharp, for they
" are true, as any *Mathematical Demonſtrations*
" are or can be. —— I ſay unto you, whilſt
" you have been in the midſt of theſe *Tranſ-*
" *actions*, that *Party*, that *Cavalier Party*, (I
" could wiſh ſome of them had thruſt in here
" to have heard what I ſay) the *Cavalier Par-*
" *ty* have been deſigning and preparing to put
" this Nation in Blood again with a Witneſs."
After a great deal more, he proceeded to de-
clare againſt *Hereditary* Government as unlaw-
ful, and ſaid, *If they had offer'd him the whole*

1654. Inſtrument of Government *with that one Alteration in favour of his Family, he would have refus'd the whole for the Sake of it.* *Ludlow* obſerves here, that in this he flatter'd the Ambition of Major General *Lambert*, and kept him in Expectation of ſucceeding him, and ſo ſecur'd his Aſſiſtance in carrying on his Deſigns. Then he endeavour'd to vindicate his raiſing Money without a Parliamentary Authority, by this Argument: "Either it is of *God*, or of "*Man*; if it be of *Man*, I would I had never "touch'd it with a Finger: If I had not had "a Hope fix'd in me, that this *Cauſe* and this "*Buſineſs* is of *God*, I would many Years ago "have run from it: If it be of *God*, it will bear "up; if it be of *Man*, it will tumble; as e-"very thing that hath been of Man, ſince "the World began, hath done." A little after he has theſe Words: "And tho' ſome may "think it is an hard Thing without *Parliamen-"tary Authority* to raiſe Money upon this Na-"tion, yet I have another Argument to the "good People of this Nation, if they would "be *ſafe*, and have no other *Principle*; whether "they prefer the having of their *Will*, tho' it "be their *Deſtruction*, rather than comply with "Things of *Neceſſity*." Then attributing all to the Providence of God, which ſome ſaid was brought about by the *Craft and Cunning of the Lord Protector*, and making it *Blaſphemy* againſt God for any to ſay ſo; and having us'd a great many ſtrange Expreſſions, and apply'd ſeveral Texts of Scripture to this Purpoſe; he at laſt concludes in theſe Words: "I have troubled you "with a long Speech, and I believe it may not "have the ſame Reſentment with all that it "hath with ſome: But becauſe that is un-"known to me, I ſhall leave it to God, and con-"clude

" clude with that, that I think my ſelf bound 1654.
" in my Duty to God, and the People of theſe
" Nations, to their *Safety* and *Good* in every
" Reſpect; I think it my Duty to tell you,
" That it is not for the *Profit* of theſe Na-
" tions, nor for *Common* and *Publick Good*, for
" you to continue here any longer; and there-
" fore, I do Declare unto you, *That I do diſ-*
" *ſolve this Parliament.*"

CHAP. V.

From the Diſſolution of his ſecond PARLIAMENT, *to the Meeting of his third* PARLIAMENT.

THUS the Protector in great Diſpleaſure, and in this upbraiding Manner, parted with his Second Parliament; which as it increas'd the Indignation of the Republicans, ſo it gave great Encouragement to the Royaliſts, to go on with the Deſigns they had now on Foot; ſo that both Parties, for King and Commonwealth, were in Rage, and Plots, and Arms againſt him. Major *John Wildman*, a noted Commonwealth's-Man, whom the Protector had expell'd the Houſe at the firſt Opening of the Seſſion, was ſeiz'd with a Paper dictated by him, intitled, *The Declaration of the free and well-affected People of* England, *now in Arms againſt the Tyrant* Oliver Cromwell *Eſq*; and beginning thus; " Being ſatisfy'd in our Judgment and " Conſciences of the preſent Neceſſity to take " up Arms for the Defence of our native Rights " and Freedoms, which are wholly invaded and

Wildman's Declaration.

1654. " ſwallow'd up in the Pride and Ambition of " *Oliver Cromwell*, who calls himſelf Lord Pro- " tector of *England*, and hath render'd all *Eng-* " *liſhmen* no better than his Vaſſals, *&c.*" But this Man, contrary to the Expectation of all his Friends, who thought of nothing but his Death, was after a ſhort Impriſonment diſcharg'd and ſet at full Liberty. The Protector at the ſame time us'd all imaginable Arts to ſecure himſelf, and prevent a univerſal Odium: He pay'd the Fleet and Army well, and diſcharg'd all Officers whoſe Fidelity he ſuſpected; carry'd it very fair with the City of *London*, giving them the Power of their own Militia, under their old Leader Major General *Skippon*, treating them and accepting of Treats from them; eas'd the common People of ſome cuſtomary Burdens, and ſome Part of their Taxes; and us'd an indefatigable Diligence and unbounded Expence in procuring Intelligence, and early cruſhing all Deſigns againſt him. So that tho' his Mother (who dy'd this Year, and was buried with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity) was in continual fear of her Son's Life, and when ſhe heard any Gun go off, would cry out that *her Son was ſhot*, and could not be eaſy without ſeeing him ſafe once or twice a Day; and tho' a Thouſand of his Enemies did really believe, that *Killing* him would be no *Murder*, yet he had the good Fortune to eſcape all Dangers.

Several Riſings for the King.

The *Cavalier* Plot was ſtill on Foot, which the Protector had a Jealouſy was countenanc'd by the Parliament; and he gave out that to be a Cauſe of his diſſolving them. The Project was, to have ſeveral Parties riſe together in ſeveral Parts of the Nation, about the beginning of *March*; and tho' upon the private Intelligence the

the Protector had receiv'd, ſeveral Perſons were apprehended, and many Arms ſeiz'd, yet it was ſtill reſolv'd to attempt ſomething. To this end, a Cart-load of Arms was brought to the Place of Rendezvous for the *Northern* Parts, where 'twas reported the Conſpirators were to be headed by *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*. But being ſomewhat alarm'd at their firſt Meeting, and apprehenſive of the regular Forces falling upon them before they were ſufficiently prepar'd, they diſpers'd themſelves, leaving their Arms behind them. The Deſign was not ſo ſoon over in the *Weſt*, where Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff*, Colonel *Penruddock*, Captain *Hugh Grove*, Mr. *Jones* and other Perſons of Condition, enter'd *Salisbury* with a Body of two hundred Horſe well arm'd, expecting there to have their Numbers daily augmented. It was the Time of the Aſſizes, and they came thither about five a-Clock in the Morning; where having proclaim'd the King, they ſeiz'd the Judges, *Rolls* and *Nicolas*, and took away their Commiſſions. They alſo ſeiz'd the Sheriff, and *Wagſtaff* reſolv'd to hang all three of them; but others not agreeing to it, they were at laſt ſet at Liberty. Their Forces not at all anſwering their firſt Expectations, they retir'd to *Dog-town*, and from thence march'd as far as *Blandford* in *Dorſetſhire*, where moſt Men look'd upon them as flying, ſeveral of their own Party ſtealing from them as faſt as others came to them; and thoſe who continu'd with them, did ſo rather to ſecure themſelves and obtain better Conditions, than from any Expectation of Succeſs in their Undertaking. Captain *Unton Crook* having Intelligence of their Motions, purſu'd them into *Devonſhire*, and at *South-Molton* fell upon them and totally defeated them: Moſt of them

1654.

They are ſuppreſs'd.

1655. were taken Priſoners, and amongſt them *Penruddock*, *Grove*, and *Jones*; *Wagſtaff*, *Maſon*, and *Mompeſſon* narrowly eſcaping. *Penruddock* and *Grove* were beheaded at *Exeter*, and others were hang'd in that City; ſome of them were ſent to *Salisbury*, the Place where they had ſo lately triumph'd, and there try'd and executed; and many were tranſported to the *Weſt-Indies*. Thus theſe Inſurrections, which at firſt ſeem'd to threaten the whole Kingdom, expir'd for the preſent, and the Protector was ſecur'd without the Help of his Army.

This Plot which was laid to ruin the Protector, prov'd in the Iſſue of great Advantage to him, advanc'd his Credit, and ſerv'd to confirm his Authority the more. It clear'd him of the Reproach of inventing Plots himſelf for an Excuſe and Pretence to continue ſuch numerous Forces in Pay; and the little Succeſs the King's Party met with, was judg'd a good Proof that there was not yet ſufficient Force for the Safety and Quiet of the Kingdom. From hence he took Occaſion, with the Advice of his Council, to make an Order, "That all who had "borne Arms for the King, or had declar'd "themſelves to be of his Party, ſhould be *Decimated*, or pay a tenth Part of their Eſtates, "to ſupport the Charge of ſuch extraordinary "Forces, as their turbulent and ſeditious Practices oblig'd him to keep up." Commiſſioners were appointed in every County for this Purpoſe; and by this Means incredible Sums of Money were brought into the Protector's Coffers. He likewiſe committed to Priſon many of thoſe whom he ſuſpected, as the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lords *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Newport*, and *Compton*, *Littleton*, *Peyton*, *Packington*,

The Royaliſts Decimated.

ton, *Aſhburnham*, *Ruſſel*, *Legg*, *Philips*, *Halſey*, and ſeveral others. He had alſo a very watchful Eye over the Republicans, and Fifth-Monarchy Men, and gave *Monk* Orders to ſeize Major General *Overton*, Major *Bramſtone*, *Holms*, and other Officers. *Overton* was ſent up to *London* and committed to the Tower, and his Regiment given to Colonel *Morgan*, Colonel *Okey*'s to the Lord *Howard*, and Cornet *Joyce*, now Colonel, was likewiſe caſhier'd. And finally, to provide for all Inconveniencies, as well amongſt the People as in the Army, he divided *England*, as 'twere, into ſo many Cantons, over each of which he plac'd one called by the Name of *Major-General*; which *Major-Generals* were in the Nature of Prefects or Governors of Provinces. Theſe Men were to have the Inſpection and Government of the inferior Commiſſioners in every County, to commit to Priſon all ſuch Perſons as they ſuſpected, to levy all Moneys which were order'd by his Highneſs and his Council to be collected for the Publick, to ſequeſter all who did not pay their *Decimation*, and to put in execution ſuch farther Directions as they ſhould receive; and there was no Appeal from any of their Acts, but to the Protector himſelf. Their Names and ſeveral Diviſions were as follows: Colonel *Kelſey* was *Major-General* for *Kent* and *Surry*; Colonel *Goffe* for *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, and *Berkſhire*; Colonel *Deſborough* for *Glouceſterſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Devonſhire*, and *Cornwal*; Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* for *Oxfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Hartfordſhire*, *Cambridgeſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; Major General *Skippon* for the City of *London*; Commiſſary General *Whaley* for *Lincolnſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Derbyſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, and *Leiceſterſhire*; 1655.

The Protector appoints *Major Generals*.

1655. Major *Butler* for *Northamptonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Rutland*, and *Huntingtonſhire*; Colonel *Berry* for *Worceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Shropſhire*, and *North-Wales*; Colonel *Whortley* for *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, and *Staffordſhire*; Major General *Lambert* for *Yorkſhire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, and *Northumberland*; and Colonel *Barkſtead* for the City of *Weſtminſter*, and *Middleſex*.

Theſe *Major-Generals* carry'd Things with a very high Hand, Decimating to Extremity whom they pleas'd, interrupting the Proceedings at Law, upon Petitions of thoſe who thought themſelves aggriev'd, and threatning ſuch as would not readily ſubmit to their Orders with Tranſportation to the *Weſt-Indies*. A certain Farmer in *Berkſhire*, being requir'd to pay his Tenth, ask'd the Commiſſioners, in caſe he did ſo, *What Security he ſhould have for the other nine Parts*; and it being anſwer'd, *That he ſhould have the Protector's Order and theirs for the Enjoyment of the reſt*; he reply'd, *That he had already an Act of Parliament for the whole, which he could not but think to be as good Security as they could give: But*, ſaid he, *if Goodman ſuch a one and ſuch a one*, (naming two of his Neighbours) *will give me their Bond for it, I know what to ſay to ſuch a Propoſal; for if they break their Agreement, I know where to right my ſelf; but theſe Sword-men are too ſtrong for me.*

Story of a Farmer of *Berkſhire*.

About this Time alſo, the Protector having laid ſome extraordinary Tax upon the City, one *Cony*, who had formerly ſerv'd him in bringing about his Deſigns, poſitively refus'd to pay his Share, and vehemently diſſuaded others from complying with it: Hereupon the Protector ſent for him, and put him in mind of the old Friend-

Of one *Cony*, who refus'd to pay Taxes to *Cromwell*.

Friendſhip that had been between them, telling him, *That of all Men he did not expect this Oppoſition from him, in a Matter that was ſo neceſſary for the good of the Commonwealth.* *Cony* in return remember'd him, how great an Enemy he had expreſs'd himſelf to ſuch Grievances, and how he had declar'd, *That all who ſubmitted to pay illegal Taxes, were greater Enemies to their Country than they who impos'd them; and that the Tyranny of Princes could never be grievous, but by the Tameneſs and Stupidity of the People.* When the Protector ſaw he could not bring him over, he told him, *That he had a Will as ſtubborn as his, and he would try which of them two ſhould be Maſter*; and thereupon committed him to Priſon. As ſoon as the Term came on the Priſoner brought his *Habeas Corpus* in the *Kings-Bench*, now call'd the *Upper-Bench*. *Maynard*, *Twiſden*, and *Windham* being of Counſel for him, demanded his Liberty, both upon the Illegality of the Commitment, and of the Impoſition. The Judges could not defend either, and it appear'd plainly what their Sentence would be; ſo that the Protector's Attorney requir'd a farther Day to anſwer what had been urg'd. But before that Time, the Three who were his Council were committed to the Tower; and the Judges were ſent for and ſeverly reprimanded, for ſuffering the Liberty they had taken: And when they humbly alledg'd the Law and *Magna Charta*, the Protector told them, *Their* Magna F—— *ſhould not controle his Actions, which he knew were for the Safety of the Commonwealth*; and ask'd them, *Who made them Judges? And whether they had any Authority to ſet there but what he gave them*; and therefore he adviſ'd them *to be more tender of that which* 1655.

1655. *which only could preſerve them*, and ſent them away with this Caution, *That they ſhould not ſuffer the Lawyers to prate, what it would not become them to hear.*

Of Sir *Peter Wentworth.* At another Time, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, a Member of the *Long Parliament*, caus'd a Collector in the Country to be proſecuted at his Suit, tho' he could ſcarce procure any Attorney to appear, or Counſel to plead for him. The Protector being inform'd of this Proſecution, ſent a Meſſenger to bring Sir *Peter* before the Council; where being ask'd the Reaſon of this Proceeding, he told them, *That he was mov'd to it by his conſtant Principle, That by the Law of* England *no Money ought to be levy'd upon the People, without their Conſent in Parliament.* The Protector then ask'd him, *Whether he would withdraw his Action, or no*; to which he reply'd, *If you will command me, I muſt ſubmit: Cromwell* therefore commanding it, he accordingly withdrew his Action; and ſo this Matter ended.

Many Things worthy of Praiſe in the Protector's Govern. ment. But tho' the Protector proceeded in this arbitrary Manner againſt thoſe who conteſted his Authority; yet in all other Caſes, where the Life of his Juriſdiction was not concern'd, he ſeem'd to have a great Reverence for the Law, and the Conſtitution, rarely interpoſing between Party and Party; and to do him Juſtice, there appear'd in his Government many Things that were truly great and Praiſe-worthy. Juſtice, as well Diſtributive as Commutative, was by him reſtor'd almoſt to its antient Grace and Splendor; the Judges executing their Office without Covetouſneſs, according to Law and Equity, and the Laws, except ſome few, where himſelf was immediately concern'd, being permitted to have their full Force upon all, without Impedi-

ment

ment or Delay. Mens Manners, outwardly at leaſt, became likewiſe reform'd, either by removing the Incentives to Luxury, or by means of the antient Laws now reviv'd and put in execution. There was a ſtrict Diſcipline kept in his Court, where Drunkenneſs, Whoredom, and Extortion were either baniſh'd, or ſeverely rebuk'd. Trade began again to flouriſh and proſper, and moſt Things to put on a happy and promiſing Aſpect. 1655.

His Deſign of re-admitting the *Jews*.

About this Time, a Deſign was form'd by the Protector, of ſettling the *Jews* again in this Nation; and *Manaſſeh Ben-Iſrael*, a great Rabbi, came over and made his ſtated Propoſals, and had a Conference upon them, for re-admitting that People to exerciſe Trade and Worſhip in *England*. The Protector, on this Occaſion, ſent for divers Miniſters of the Goſpel, and laid thoſe Propoſals before them; and at the ſame time with great earneſtneſs declar'd his Opinion, " That ſince there was a Promiſe " that they ſhould be converted, Means ought " to be us'd to that End; and the moſt likely Way was, the Preaching of the Goſpel " in Truth and Sincerity, as it was then in " *England*, devoid of all Popiſh Idolatry, which " had render'd the Chriſtian Religion odious to " them." But this Deſign was ſo violently oppos'd that it came to nothing. 'Tis ſaid the Protector had the Promiſe of 200000*l.* from the *Jews*, in caſe he procur'd this Toleration for them; which made him ſo earneſt to bring it about: But Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, that he enter'd into this Treaty with them for the ſake of Intelligence. His Words are theſe: " When " he underſtood what Dealers the *Jews* were " every where in that Trade that depends on " News, the advancing Mony upon high or

" low

1655. "low Intereſt in proportion to the Riſque "they run, or the Gain to be made as the "Times might turn, and in the buying and ſel- "ling of the Actions of Money ſo advanc'd, he, "more upon that Account, than in Compli- "ance with the Principle of Toleration, brought "a Company of them over to *England*, and "gave them leave to build a Synagogue. All "the while that he was negotiating this, they "were ſure and good Spies for him, eſpecially "with relation to *Spain* and *Portugal*."

A Story on this Occaſion.

Upon this the Biſhop tells this Story, which he had from the Earl of *Orrery*: That as that Earl was once walking with *Cromwell* in one of the Galleries of *White-Hall*, a Man almoſt in Rags appear'd in View; upon which he imediately diſmiſs'd the Earl, and took that Perſon with him into his Cloſet; who told him of a great Sum of Money, that the *Spaniards* were ſending over in a *Dutch* Man-of-War, to pay their Army in *Flanders*; and alſo whereabouts in the Ship the ſaid Money was repoſited. The Protector then immediately ſent an Expreſs to *Smith* (afterwards Sir *Jeremy Smith*) who lay in the *Downs*, informing him, "That within "a Day or two ſuch a *Dutch* Ship would paſs "the *Channel*, which he muſt ſearch for the "*Spaniſh* Money, which was Contraband "Goods;" his Highneſs being then at War with *Spain*. Accordingly, when the Ship paſs'd by *Dover*, *Smith* ſent and demanded Leave to ſearch him. The *Dutch* Captain return'd him this Anſwer, *That none but his Maſters might ſearch him*: Upon which, *Smith* ſent him Word again, *That he had ſet up an Hour-glaſs, and if he did not ſubmit to the Search before it was run out, he would force him.* The Captain ſeeing it was in vain to ſtruggle, ſubmitted in time, and

ſo

ſo all the Money was found. And the next time his Highneſs ſaw the Lord *Orrery*, he told him, he had his Intelligence from that ſeemingly forlorn Man he ſaw him go to ſome Days before. 1655.

The Lords Commiſſioners of the great Seal, were Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *Whitelock*, and *Liſle*; and *William Lenthal* Eſq; was Maſter of the *Rolls*. *Widdrington*, *Whitelock*, and *Lenthal* made their Exceptions againſt executing an Ordinance of the Lord Protector and his Council, *For the better regulating and limiting the Juriſdiction of the High Court of Chancery*: Upon which his Highneſs not enduring his Authority or his Acts ſhould be diſputed, ſent for them to the Council-Chamber, and there requir'd them to lay down the Seal and withdraw. He kept it a few Days in his own Hands, and then gave it to Major *Liſle*, one of the former Commiſſioners, and Colonel *Fiennes*. And that *Widdrington* and *Whitelock*, the ejected Commiſſioners, might not be too much diſguſted, his Highneſs appointed them Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; and he continu'd *Lenthal* in his Favour for paſt Services. He makes a change in his Miniſtry.

As the Protector's Power was very great at Home, ſo his Influence was no leſs conſiderable Abroad. His greateſt Difficulty in his foreign Affairs, was, which ſide to chuſe, *France* or *Spain*. The latter offer'd, that if his Highneſs would join with them, they would engage themſelves to make no Peace, till he ſhould recover *Calais* again to the *Engliſh*. The Protector was very well pleas'd with this, thinking it would recommend him much to the Nation, to reſtore that Town again to the *Engliſh* Empire, after it had been a hundred Years poſſeſs'd by the *French*. Cardinal *Mazarine* Is in ſuſpence whether to join with *France* or *Spain*.

1655. *zarine* having Intelligence of this Offer made by the *Spaniards*, that he might out-bid them, promis'd, in caſe the Protector would join with *France*, to aſſiſt him in taking of *Dunkirk*, a Place of much more Importance. His Highneſs was ſtill for ſome Time in ſuſpence, but that which inclin'd him very much to join with *France*, was this; he ſaw that if *France* ſhould aſſiſt the King or his Brother with an Army of *Hugonots*, to make a Deſcent into *England*, (which was threatned, if he ſhould join with *Spain*) this might be of very dangerous Conſequence to him, who had ſo many Enemies at Home, and ſo few Friends; whereas the *Spaniards* could give thoſe Princes no Strength, nor had they any *Proteſtant* Subjects to aſſiſt them in ſuch an Enterprize. This Conſideration made a great Impreſſion on him; and whilſt he was caſting in his Mind, what was fit to be done, one *Gage*, formerly a Prieſt, came over from the *Weſt-Indies*, and gave him ſuch a Relation of the Weakneſs, as well as of the Riches of the *Spaniards* in thoſe Parts, that he concluded it would be both an important and an eaſy Conqueſt, to ſeize on their Dominions there. By this he hop'd to ſupply himſelf with ſuch a Treaſure, that his Government would be eſtabliſh'd, before he ſhould need to have any Recourſe to a Parliament for Money. And as the *Spaniards* would never admit of a Peace with *England* between the Tropicks, he was in a State of War with them as to thoſe Parts, even before he declar'd War againſt them in *Europe*. Upon this, he prepar'd a Fleet, with a Force ſufficient, as he thought, to have ſeiz'd *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*; *Gage* having aſſur'd him, that Succeſs in that Expedition would ſoon make him Maſter of all the reſt.

Inclines to the former.

Sets out a Fleet for *Hiſpaniola*

reſt. When the Time of ſetting out this Fleet came on, all Men wonder'd whither it ſhould be deſign'd. Some imagin'd it was to rob the Church of *Loretto*; and this Apprehenſion occaſion'd a Fortification to be drawn round it: Others talk'd of *Rome* it ſelf; for the Protector's Preachers often gave out, *That if it were not for the Diviſions at Home, he would go and ſack* Babylon. Others thought the deſign was againſt *Cadiz*, tho' he had not yet broke with *Spain*. The *French* knew nothing of the Secret; and the Protector not having finiſh'd his Alliance with them, was not oblig'd to impart to them the Reaſon of his Preparations. All he ſaid about it was this, *That he ſent out the Fleet to guard the Seas, and to reſtore* England *to its Dominion on that Element*. 1655.

This Fleet conſiſting of about Thirty Men of War, under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Penn*, with about four Thouſand Land-Soldiers, to be commanded by *Venables*, ſet Sail in the beginning of this Year, directly for *Barbadoes*, where the two Commanders were order'd to break open their Commiſſions. Being ſafely arriv'd there, and new Men taken in to encreaſe the Land-Army, they ſail'd to the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*. Coming about the middle of *April* before *Sancto Domingo*, the chief Port of that Country, *Venables* landed his Men in an ill Place, different from the Orders he had receiv'd from the Lord Protector, and march'd them thro' ſuch thick Woods and uneaſy Paſſages, that the *Spaniards*, with a very unequal Number, beat them back. After this, they advanc'd again towards the Town, taking *Negroes* for their Guides, who led them into an Ambuſcade; ſo that they were again ſhamefully repuls'd to the Bay where they landed, with

Which meets with ill Succeſs.

1655. with the loſs of Major General *Haines*, and above ſix hundred Men. They were ſoon forc'd to re-imbark; and then to make ſome amends for this unhappy Miſcarriage, they made another Deſcent on the Iſland of *Jamaica*, and obtain'd an eaſy Poſſeſſion of it; which Iſland has ever ſince remain'd in the Hands of the *Engliſh*: Where leaving a good Body of Foot to ſecure it, they ſail'd back to *England*. The Lord Protector was never ſo much diſturb'd as at this Diſaſter at *Hiſpaniola*; ſo that *Penn* and *Venables* were no ſooner come on Shore, but he committed them both to the *Tower*, and could never be prevail'd on to truſt either of them again.

But takes Jamaica.

Blake's Succeſs in the *Mediterranean.*

About the time that *Penn* and *Venables* ſet out on this unfortunate Expedition, Admiral *Blake* ſail'd with another Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, to ſcour thoſe Seas of the *Turkiſh* Pirates; and not meeting with any of them, he bravely reſolv'd to ſeek them out in their Ports. He came firſt before *Algiers*, and ſending to the *Dye* demanded that all the *Engliſh* Ships might be reſtor'd, and all the *Engliſh* Slaves releas'd. The *Dye* hereupon ſent a rich Preſent to *Blake*, with ſome Store of freſh Proviſions, and gave him to underſtand, "That the Ships and Captives "already taken belong'd to private Men, there- "fore not ſo much in his Power; but yet they "ſhould be reſtor'd at a moderate Ranſom; "and if the Admiral thought good, they "would conclude a Peace, and for the future "offer no Acts of Violence to any of the *Eng-* "*liſh* Ships and Natives." A Peace being accordingly concluded, *Blake* ſail'd from thence to *Tunis*, where having made the ſame Demand as at *Algiers*, inſtead of the like Submiſſion, he receiv'd this reſolute Anſwer, "That there "were their Caſtles of *Goletta*, and their Ships

"and

" and Caſtles of *Porto-Ferino*; he might do 1655.
" his Worſt, for he ſhould not think to fright
" them with the Sight of his Fleet." Provok'd at this Anſwer, *Blake* reſolv'd to deſtroy their Ships in *Porto-Ferino*. Accordingly they mann'd their Long-boats with ſtout Seamen, and ſent them into the Harbour to fire thoſe Ships; whilſt the Admiral himſelf with all his Fleet thunder'd moſt furiously with his Cannon againſt their Caſtles. The Seamen, in the mean time, ſo bravely perform'd their Parts, that all the nine *Turkiſh* Ships of War were ſoon reduc'd to Aſhes, with the Loſs of only twenty five Men, and forty eight wounded, on the *Engliſh* Side. Theſe were Actions of the higheſt Conduct and Courage, which made the *Engliſh* Name very formidable in thoſe Seas.

The King of *Spain*, provok'd at the late Attempt upon his Dominions in the *Weſt-Indies*, declar'd War againſt *England*; and the Protector on the other Hand diſpatch'd Orders to Admiral *Blake*, to watch the Return of the *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet, and make what Deſtruction he could upon the Coaſts of *Spain*; and thought fit now to finiſh his Alliance with *France*, ſending *Lockhart* his Ambaſſador thither for that End. His Highneſs undertook to ſend over an Army of 6000 Foot; and when the Forts of *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke* ſhould be taken, they were to be put into his Hands: And the *French* King likewiſe oblig'd himſelf by this Treaty not to permit King *Charles*, nor his Brothers, nor any of his Relations and Adherents, excepting the Queen Mother, to remain in any Part of his Dominions.

The Protector concludes his Alliance with *France*.

1656. Two great Actions of *Cromwell* in Favour of the *Proteſtants* abroad.

About this Time, the Protector had two ſignal Occaſions given him, to exerciſe his Charity, and diſplay his Power, and ſhew his Zeal

1656. in protecting the *Proteſtants* Abroad. The Duke of *Savoy* rais'd a new Perſecution of the *Vaudois*, cruelly murdering and maſſacring many of them, and driving the reſt from their Dwellings into the Mountains. Upon this the Protector ſent to *Mazarine* deſiring him to put a ſtop to theſe Proceedings; adding, *That he knew well they had the Duke in their Power, and could reſtrain him as they pleas'd; and if they did not, he muſt preſently break with them.* The Cardinal objected to this, as unreaſonable: He promis'd to do good Offices; but ſaid, he could not anſwer for the Effects. However, nothing would ſatisfy the Protector, 'till they oblig'd the Duke of *Savoy* to reſtore all he had unjuſtly taken from his Proteſtant Subjects, and to renew all their former Privileges. The Lord Protector alſo rais'd a great ſum of Money for them, and ſent over *Morland* to ſettle all their Affairs, and ſupply all their Loſſes. The other Inſtance was this: There happen'd a Tumult at *Niſmes*, in which the *Hugonots* had committed ſome Diſorder; who being apprehenſive of very ſevere Proceedings upon it, ſent one over with great expedition to the Lord Protector *Cromwell* to deſire his Interpoſition and Protection. This Expreſs found ſo good a Reception the firſt Hour he came, that his Highneſs having receiv'd the whole Account, bad him, "Refreſh himſelf af-"ter ſo long a Journey, and he would take "ſuch Care of his Buſineſs, that by the Time "he came to *Paris*, he ſhould find it diſ-"patch'd." Accordingly, that Night he ſent away another Meſſenger, with a very effectual Letter to his Ambaſſador *Lockhart*, requiring him either to prevail that the Matter might be paſs'd over, or *to come away immediately.* The Cardinal complain'd of this Way of Proceeding; but

but the Neceſſity of their Affairs made him comply. Theſe Things rais'd the Protector's Character abroad, and caus'd him to be much depended on. 1656.

The Protector having concluded the Treaty with *France*, reſolv'd now on a vigorous Proſecution of the War with *Spain*. For this Purpoſe, Admiral *Blake*, and *Montague*, afterwards Earl of *Sandwich*, were order'd with a ſtrong Navy to block up the Port of *Cadiz*. Here they lay ſeveral Weeks, but could not provoke the Enemy to come out and fight, 'till Want of Water and other Neceſſaries oblig'd them to ſail to *Wyers-Bay* in *Portugal* for freſh Supplies; Captain *Stayner*, in the mean time, being left behind with ſeven Ships; who, whilſt the Commanders were gone to the foremention'd Place, eſpy'd the *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet making directly for *Cadiz*, and reſolv'd to fall upon it; which, with the *Speaker*, *Bridgewater*, and *Plymouth* Frigats, whilſt the reſt were behind, he ſo bravely perform'd, that in a few Hours the whole Fleet was quite ſpoil'd. One Ship was ſunk, another burnt, in which the Marqueſs of *Bajadox*, Vice-Roy of *Mexico*, with his Lady and eldeſt Daughter, periſh'd in the Flames; two were forc'd on Ground, one run away, and two remain'd in the Conquerors Hands; which being brought to *Portſmouth*, the Bullion, to the Value of above two Millions, was there landed, and convey'd in Carts to *London*, as a Trophy and Triumph of War.

The *Spaniſh* Plate-Fleet deſtroy'd by the *Engliſh*.

The Protector being now in the Height of his Glory, reſolv'd to call a Parliament; to which it is thought he could have no other Motive or Inducement, than to make a Party for a Crown and get the Title of KING confer'd on him, which was the only Thing he

A Parliament reſolv'd on.

1656. wanted; for as to the Power of a King, he was really more formidable than any of the *Engliſh* Monarchs ever were. Whatever his Deſign was, a Parliament was to be ſummon'd, and Writs were iſſued throughout the three Nations for Election of Members for that Purpoſe; in which all Endeavours were us'd to hinder thoſe from being choſen, who were moſt likely to obſtruct the Protector's Deſigns: For this Reaſon the Preſident *Bradſhaw*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Lieutenant-General *Ludlow* and others were ſummon'd before the Council; and after Conſultation, Sir *Henry Vane* was ſent Priſoner to *Carisbrook* Caſtle, *Ludlow* was order'd to be taken into Cuſtody; and *Bradſhaw*, tho' permitted to go his Circuit, as *Chief-Juſtice* of *Cheſter*, had Letters ſent after him to deter Perſons from giving their Votes for him.

CHAP. VI.

From the Meeting of his Third PARLIAMENT, *to his being Confirm'd* PROTECTOR, *by the* humble Petition and Advice.

The Opening of *Cromwell's* Third Parliament.

ON the 17*th* Day of *September*, the new Parliament met his Highneſs the Lord Protector in *Weſtminſter-Abby*; where Dr. *John Owen*, Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, preach'd a Sermon on theſe Words in *Iſaiah*, *What ſhall one then anſwer the Meſſengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded* Zion, *and the Poor of his People ſhall truſt in it.* This being over,

over, the Protector with the Members went to the *Painted-Chamber*, where he made a dark Speech to them, and then dismiss'd them to their House: But here they found a Guard plac'd, and none were suffer'd to enter but such as had Certificates given them, in this Form, *These are to certify, that* A. B. *is return'd by Indenture one of the Members to serve in this present Parliament, for —— and approv'd by his Highness's Council.* By this means near a hundred Members were excluded, who thereupon presented a Petition to the sitting Members, declaring, "That being chosen by the Country to serve "with them, they were ready to discharge their "Duty; but were prevented from doing so by "the Power of the Sword, and refus'd Ad- "mittance into the House by a Guard of Sol- "diers." Upon this, a Committe being sent to the Protector and his Council, return'd with this Answer, "That if the Persons complain- "ing would apply themselves to them, they "should be reliev'd, if there was Cause." The excluded Members therefore seeing no Redress, appeal'd to the People in a severe Remonstrance, or Protestation, complaining, "That "the Lord Protector had by force of Arms "invaded their fundamental Right and Liber- "ty, and violently prevented the Meeting of "the Peoples chosen Deputies in Parliament; "and concluding with an Appeal to God and "all the good People of *England* for Assistance "and Protection in their Service, *&c.*"

1656.

Petition and Remonstrance of the excluded Members.

The sitting Members made choice of Sir *Thomas Widdrington* for their Speaker; and 'twas soon perceiv'd that they were dispos'd to act according to the Protector's Mind. On the first of *October* they resolv'd, "That the War "against the *Spaniards* was undertaken upon

The Parliament's Proceedings and Acts.

1656. " juſt and neceſſary Grounds, and for the good " of the People of the Commonwealth; and " that the Parliament doth approve thereof, " and will by God's Bleſſing aſſiſt his Highneſs " therein." They then proceeded to paſs ſeveral Acts; as *1ſt* " An Act that paſſing of " Bills ſhould not determine this preſent Seſſion of Parliament. 2. An Act for renouncing and diſannulling the pretended Title of " *Charles Stuart*. 3. An Act for the Security " of his Highneſs the Lord Protector his Perſon, and continuance of the Nation in Peace " and Safety; whereby 'twas made High-Treaſon to attempt, compaſs, or imagine the Death " of the Protector. 4. An Act for taking away " the Court of *Wards* and *Liveries*. 5. An Act " for the Exportation of ſeveral Commodities " of the Breed, Growth, and Manufacture of " this Commonwealth." And farther, to make good what they had reſolv'd, great Sums of Money were granted to carry on the *Spaniſh* War. For this Purpoſe, an Act was paſs'd, " For an Aſſeſſment of 60000*l.* a Month, for " three Months upon *England*; another for " 5000*l.* a Month for the ſame Time, on *Scotland*; and the ſame on *Ireland*." There was alſo another Act paſs'd " For 30000*l.* a Month " for *England*, 6000*l.* a Month for *Scotland*, " and 900*l.* a Month for *Ireland*, to be paid " for three whole Years next enſuing." Another, " For continuing of Tonnage and Pound-" age." And another (which was the Revival of an old Act) " For preventing the Multiplicity of Buildings in and about the *Suburbs* of " *London*, and within ten Miles thereof; a " whole Year's Revenue to be preſently paid " for all Houſes which had been built upon new " Foundations ſince the Year 1620."

Theſe

These Bills, with several others, were at several Times pass'd by the Protector, coming in State as a Sovereign to the *Painted-Chamber*. And when the Money Bills with some others were pass'd, he made this short Speech to the Speaker: "I perceive, that among these many "Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very "great Care had by the Parliament, to provide "for the just and necessary Support of the "Commonwealth, by these Bills for levying of "Money now brought to me, which I have "given my Consent unto: And understanding "it hath been the Practice of those who have "been chief Governours, to acknowledge with "Thanks to the Commons, their Care and "Regard of the Publick, I do very heartily "and thankfully acknowledge their Kindness "herein." 1656.

The Protector's Speech to them at his passing of Bills.

The Parliament had not sat two Months when the exorbitant Power of the *Major-Generals* came under Consideration. The Protector had hitherto given them good Words; but fearing they might in Time eclipse his own Greatness, he was now for suppressing their Authority. And so Mr. *Cleypole* his Son-in-law stood up, (which was an unusual Thing with him) and told the House, "That he could but "start the Game, and must leave those who "had more Experience, to follow the Chace; "and therefore should only say, that he had "formerly thought it necessary, in respect to the "Condition in which the Nation had been, that "the *Major-Generals* should be entrusted with "the Authority they had exercis'd; but in the "present State of Affairs, he conceiv'd it in-"consistent with the Laws of *England* and "Liberties of the People, to continue their

The *Major-Generals* put down.

1656. "Power any longer." This Motion was a clear Direction to the Court Party in the Houſe; who being well aſſur'd, that *Gleypole* had deliver'd the Senſe, if not the very Words of the Protector therein, join'd as one Man in oppoſing and aboliſhing the Power of theſe *Major-Generals*.

Account of *James Naylor*.

About this Time, one *James Naylor*, a late Soldier under General *Lambert*, took upon him to perſonate our Saviour, reſembling his Picture in his Garb, Hair, and Looks. He went about with Diſciples, and Women miniſtring unto him, and enter'd the City of *Briſtol* riding upon an Aſs, his Followers ſtrewing his Way with Leaves and Boughs of Trees, and crying, *Hoſanna, Bleſſed is he who cometh in the Name of the Lord.* He alſo pretended he could heal the Sick, raiſe the Dead, and faſt forty Days, and gave no other Anſwer to any Queſtion, but *Thou haſt ſaid it.* The Magiſtrates of *Briſtol* ſent him up to the Parliament, who reſolv'd, "That *James Naylor* was guilty of "horrid Blaſphemy, and a great Seducer of "the People;" and inſtead of ſending him to *Bedlam*, which would have been the propereſt Place for him, they order'd the Speaker to pronounce this ſevere Sentence againſt him, *viz.* "To ſtand in the Pillory for two Hours at "*Weſtminſter*; to be whipp'd by the Hang-"man from *Weſtminſter* to the Old *Exchange*, "and there to ſtand in the Pillory two Hours "more; his Tongue to be bored thro' with a "hot Iron, and his Forehead ſtigmatiz'd with "the Letter *B*; to be afterwards ſent to *Bri-"ſtol*, and convey'd thro' the City on a Horſe "bare back'd, and his Face backward, and his "Body whip'd in the Market-Place: To be "brought back to *London*, and committed to

"Pri-

" Priſon in *Bridewell*, and there to be kept 1656.
" from all Company, and to have no Relief,
" but what he ſhould earn from hard Labour;
" and being debarr'd the Uſe of Pen, Ink, and
" Paper, to be kept to continual Work, till he
" ſhould be diſcharg'd by the Parliament."
Whitelock ſays, many thought he was too furiouſly proſecuted by ſome rigid Men.

Syndercomb's Plot.

About this Time, there was a new Diſcovery made of a deſperate Plot againſt the Protector's Perſon; which made the Acts paſs'd for his Security be judg'd highly ſeaſonable. *Miles Syndercomb*, a *Leveller*, having been caſhier'd in *Scotland*, combin'd with one *Cecil* and one *Troop*, of his Highneſs's Life-Guard, to aſſaſſinate the Protector near *Brentford*, as he was going to *Hampton-Court*. *Syndercomb* being betray'd by the other Conſpirators, ſtoutly deny'd the Plot, but was condemn'd upon the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. the Chief Juſtice *Glynn* declaring it Treaſon in Caſe of a Protector, as well as a King, *ſince by the Word King any chief Magiſtrate was underſtood.* The Priſoner was found dead, when the Time appointed for his Execution came; whereupon his Body was drag'd naked by a Horſe's Tail to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, and there bury'd, with a Stake driven thro' it. The Protector was very much diſturb'd at this Accident; for inſtead of bringing this Man to make ſome uſeful diſcovery to him, which he expected, he found himſelf under the Reproach of cauſing him to be poyſon'd, as being afraid to bring him to publick Juſtice. However, a Day of publick Thankſgiving was appointed for the Protector's Deliverance; when after a Sermon at St. *Margaret's Weſtminſter*, his Highneſs treated the Speaker and Members in the *Banquetting-Houſe* at *Whitehall*

1657. *hall*, with more than ordinary Marks of Endearment.

Design of making *Cromwell* King.

The Parliament had ſat about ſix Months, when the Debate came on in the Houſe about changing *Cromwell*'s Title of *Protector* into that of *King*. A new *Inſtrument* was drawn up, and read in the Houſe, having a Blank left for the Title of the ſingle Perſon, and two other Blanks for two Houſes of Parliament. This was brought in by Mr. *Pack*, a rich Alderman of *London*, who was ſuppos'd to be very much in the Court Intereſt; and when it came to be debated, 'twas ſharply oppos'd by the Soldiers Party in the Houſe; who joining with the *Republicans*, fell ſo furiouſly upon *Pack* for his great Preſumption and unparliamentary Proceeding, that they bore him down from the Speaker's Chair to the Bar of the Houſe. But this Heat laſted not long; for the Lord *Broghill*, Chief Juſtice *Glynn*, and others who were privy to the main Deſign, alledging, "That "being Maſters of their own Reſolutions, they "might retain as much of this new Form as "was good, and reject what was otherwiſe;" they by this means brought it to be debated: And tho' they met with ſome Oppoſition therein, yet when it came to be put to the Queſtion, they carry'd all before them, and grew ſo bold as to move, "That the Blank left for the In-"ſertion of the Title of the chief Magiſtrate, "might be fill'd up with the Name of *King*:" Which Motion, tho' very much oppos'd by Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, was likewiſe carry'd, and the Name voted, together with the filling up the two Blanks left for the two Houſes, with the Words, *Houſe of Commons, and other Houſe*.

The Parliament vote him the Title.

This

This done, on the 4th of *April*, they pre- 1657.
sented this Writing to the Lord Protector, which was ſtil'd, *The humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland *to his Highneſs*; at which Time, the Speaker, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, made a Speech to him, recommending the Title and Office of a *King*, *as ſettled here with Chriſtianity it ſelf, approv'd and retain'd by our Anceſtors, and every way fitted to the Laws and Temper of the People of* England. The Protector, however inclinable he was to accept of this Offer, yet finding it to be againſt the Humour and Bent of the Army, and the chief Officers of it, and that his Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, and his Brother-in-law *Desborough* were particularly averſe to it, inſtead of a ready Aſſent, thought fit to demur upon it; and the better to protract Time, in hopes of gaining upon the Officers, he deſir'd "That a Committee might be appointed "to confer with him, and to offer him better "Knowledge and Satisfaction in this great "Cauſe."

And offer it to him.

He demurs upon it.

A Committee was accordingly appointted, which on *April* 11, met him in the *Painted-Chamber*. *Whitelock* was Chair-man, and the chief Speakers beſides him were, the Lord *Broghill*, Chief Juſtice *St. John*, Chief Juſtice *Glynn*, the Lords Commiſſioners *Fiennes* and *Liſle*, *Lenthal* Maſter of the *Rolls*, Sir *Charles Wolſley*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, and Colonel *Jones*. Theſe for two diſtinct Days, ſucceſſively entertain'd the Protector with long Speeches, endeavouring to perſuade him to accept of the Title of *King*, which the Parliament had offer'd him. Their Arguments were principally theſe: "That the Name of a *Protector*, as he held "it, was unknown to the *Engliſh* Conſtitution;

A Committee appointed to ſatisfy him.

"but

1657. " but the Title of KING had the only Founda-
" tion in the antient and known Laws of the
" Nation, was interwoven with our Laws, and
" ſuited to the Genius of the People: That it
" was the Head from whence all the Nerves
" and Sinews of the Government proceeded;
" and if a new Head was put on, it was a
" Queſtion, whether thoſe Nerves and Sinews
" would grow and receive Nouriſhment: That
" for him to take up the Office of King, with-
" out the Title, was to take it up with all the
" Objections of Scandal: That the *King*, the
" *Laws* of the Nation, the *Liberties* of the
" People, and alſo *Parliaments* themſelves, had
" but one Foundation; and that the End of the
" late War was not to deſtroy *King-ſhip*, as
" appear'd by ſix or ſeven of the Parliament's
" Declarations, one of which was order'd to
" be read in all Churches." His Highneſs an-
ſwer'd, " That theſe Arguments were cogent,
" but not ſatisfactory; that the Title of *Prote-*
" *ctor* might be adapted to the Laws; that
" Providence was againſt them, that had alrea-
" dy alter'd the Name; and that he were
" much to be blamed, if he ſhould diſpleaſe ſo
" many pious and religious Men, who would
" take offence at ſuch a Proceeding." The
Committee reply'd, " That the Title ought to
" be accommodated to the Laws, and not the
" Laws to the Title: That the Innovation of
" Title was ſuſpected, as being the Cover of
" hidden Tyranny; and that the Inconvenien-
" cies of ſuch Change were not preſently felt;
" for which very Reaſon, it was by the Par-
" liament deny'd to King *James*, when he
" came firſt to this Kingdom, to change the
" Title of King of *England* and *Scotland*, into
" that of *Great-Britain*: That by refuſing the

" Ti-

" Title of *King*, he would not ſo much dero- 1657.
" gate from his own Honour, as from the Na-
" tion's, for whoſe Honour it was to have a *King*
" for the ſupreme Governour: That under
" the Name of *Protector* was never deſign'd the
" ſupreme Moderator, but a temporary Officer
" for guarding the King in his Minority, and
" adminiſtring of the Kingdom; and that ge-
" nerally ſuch had been unfortunate: That
" that Appellation having at this time ſprung
" from the Soldiers, ſavour'd of Conqueſt, and
" might with very good Reaſon be reſcind-
" ed by the Parliament. That without the
" Title of King, the Government would be
" unſtable and flitting, and would not long
" ſtand, being on a tottering Foundation; as it
" had been chang'd three or four times in
" theſe five Years, and did ſtill fluctuate: That
" this had been the great Encouragement of
" thoſe Attempts againſt his Perſon, that the
" Law did not take notice of him as chief Magi-
" ſtrate; and that Juries were generally backward
" in finding any Guilty of Treaſon upon that
" Account: But by the Laws made in *Edward*
" IV. and *Henry* VIIth's Time, whatever was
" done by a *King in Poſſeſſion*, was good and
" valid, and all that ſerv'd under him were ſafe
" and exempt from Puniſhment. By thoſe
" Laws his Enemies had hitherto pleaded In-
" demnity, but by his aſſuming what was de-
" ſir'd, thoſe Laws they pretended for their
" Diſobedience, would tie them, even by their
" own Principles, to Obedience. That tho'
" Part of the long Parliament had taken away
" *Kingſhip*, yet now it was ſet up again by a
" fuller Repreſentative of three Nations; and
" ſince the Parliament of *England*, *Scotland* and
" *Ireland*, had advis'd and deſir'd him to take

" up-

1657. "upon him the Title of *King*, he ought not "in Reaſon and Equity to refuſe it. That "Providence was no leſs conſpicuous in turning "the Government again into Monarchy, for "avoiding Confuſion, and bridling the Tu-"mults of the People, than in changing the "Name of *Monarchy* into *Protectorſhip:* And "that good and pious Men would acquieſce in "the Decree of the Parliament, altho' per-"haps they might ſeem privately to differ."

He ſtill demurs.

In the end, his Highneſs gratefully acknowledg'd the Kindneſs of the Offer, but would not give a preſent Anſwer, acquainting the Committee, "That he would conſider of all "they had ſaid, and *ſeek to God* for Counſel; "and then he would ſend for them, and de-"clare his Reſolution."

The Protector was now under great Difficulties and Diſtraction of Mind, and many Days paſs'd before he could come to a Reſolution in this weighty Affair. Whilſt this Buſineſs was in Agitation, the Earl of *Orrery*, as Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, coming one Day to *Cromwell*, and telling him he had been in the City, the Protector enquir'd of him, *What News he had heard there.* The Lord *Orrery* told him, *He had heard he was in Treaty with the King, who was to be reſtor'd, and to marry his Daughter.* *Cromwell* ſhewing no Diſpleaſure at this, the Earl ſaid, *In the State to which Things were reduc'd, he could ſee no better Expedient: They might bring him in on what Terms they pleas'd; and his Highneſs might retain the ſame Authority he then had, with leſs Trouble.* To this *Cromwell* anſwer'd, *The King can never forgive his Father's Blood.* The Earl reply'd, *He was one of many that were concern'd in that, but he would be alone in the Merit of reſtoring him:*

A remarkable Conference between him, and the Earl of *Orrery*.

him: Upon which the Protector ſaid, *He is ſo damnably debauch'd, he would undo us all*; and ſo went off to other Diſcourſe without any Emotion; which made his Lordſhip conclude he had often thought of that Expedient. 1657.

The Protector in the mean Time kept himſelf on ſuch a Reſerve, that no Man knew what Anſwer he would give to the Parliament's Offer, tho' 'twas thought moſt likely that he would accept of it. He, as *Ludlow* informs us, endeavour'd by all poſſible Means to perſuade the Officers of the Army to approve the Deſign; for which Purpoſe he one Time invited himſelf to dine with Colonel *Desborough*, and carry'd Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* with him. He began to droll with them about *Monarchy*, and ſpeaking ſlightly of it, ſaid, *It was but a Feather in a Man's Cap, and therefore he wonder'd that Men would not pleaſe the Children, and let them enjoy the Rattle.* But they being very ſerious upon the Matter, aſſur'd him, *That there was more in it than he perceiv'd: That thoſe who put him upon it were no Enemies to* Charles Stuart; *and if he accepted of it, he would draw inevitable Ruin on himſelf and Friends.* Having thus ſounded them, that he might conclude as he begun, he told them, *They were a Couple of ſcrupulous Fellows*, and ſo went away. At another Time entering more ſeriouſly into Debate with theſe two, he ſaid, *It was a Tempting of God to expoſe ſo many worthy Men to Death and Poverty, when there was a certain Way to ſecure them.* But they inſiſting upon the Oaths they had taken, he reply'd, *That theſe Oaths were againſt the Power and Tyranny of Kings, but not againſt the four Letters that made the Word* KING.

He endeavours to gain the Army.

The

1657. The next Day, his Highneſs ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe, requiring their Attendance to Morrow morning in the *Painted-Chamber*, intending, as all Men thought, there to declare his Acceptance of the Crown: But in the mean Time meeting with his Brother *Desborough*, as he was walking in the Park, and acquainting him with his Reſolution, he receiv'd this Anſwer from him, *That he then gave the Cauſe, and his Family alſo for loſt; and tho' he reſolv'd never to act againſt him, yet he would not act for him after that Time.* And ſo after ſome farther Diſcourſe, *Desborough* went home, and there found Colonel *Pride*, whom the Protector had Knighted; and imparting to him his Highneſs's Intention to accept the Title of *King*, *Pride* immediately anſwer'd, *He ſhall not. Desborough* ask'd him *how he would hinder it*: Whereupon *Pride* ſaid, *Get me a Petition drawn, and I will prevent it.* And ſo they both went to Dr. *Owen*, and prevail'd on him to draw a Petition according to their Mind.

The next Morning, the Houſe being met, ſome Officers of the Army coming to the Parliament Doors, ſent in a Meſſage to Colonel *Desborough*, to let him know that they had a Petition, and deſir'd him to preſent it to the Houſe. But he knowing the Contents of it, and thinking it not proper for him to take publick Notice of it before it was preſented, inform'd the Houſe, That certain Officers of the Army had a Petition to preſent to them; and mov'd that they ſhould be call'd in, and have Leave to preſent it with their own Hands; which the Houſe generally agreed to, not thinking the Army would oppoſe their Deſigns. And ſo the Petition being deliver'd by Lieutenant Colonel *Maſon*, was read in the Houſe, and was

to

to this Effect; "That they had hazarded their "Lives againſt Monarchy, and were ſtill ready "ſo to do, in Defence of the Liberties of the "Nation: That having obſerv'd in ſome Men "great Endeavours to bring the Nation again "under their old Servitude, by preſſing their "General to take upon him the Title and Go-"vernment of *King*, in order to deſtroy him, "and weaken the Hands of thoſe who were "faithful to the Publick; they therefore humbly "deſir'd that they would diſcountenance all ſuch "Perſons and Endeavours, and continue ſted-"faſt to the Old Cauſe, for the Preſervation "of which they for their Parts were moſt rea-"dy to lay down their Lives."

1657. Their Petition againſt making him *King*.

'Tis hard to ſay whether the Parliament or the Protector was moſt ſurpriz'd at this unexpected Addreſs. As ſoon as his Highneſs heard of it, he ſent for his Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, and told him, *That he wonder'd he would ſuffer ſuch a Petition to proceed ſo far, which he might have hinder'd, ſince he knew it to be his Reſolution not to accept the Crown without the Conſent of the Army; and therefore he deſir'd him to haſten to the Houſe, and to put them off from doing any Thing farther therein.* Accordingly the Lieutenant General went immediately thither, and told them, "That the Petition ought not to "be debated, much leſs to be anſwer'd, at this "Time, the Contents of it being to deſire them "not to preſs his Highneſs to be *King*; where-"as the preſent Buſineſs was to receive his An-"ſwer to what had been formerly offer'd to "him; and therefore he deſir'd, that the De-"bate of it might be put off, 'till they had "receiv'd his Anſwer." The Houſe having agreed to this, receiv'd a Meſſage from the Protector, That inſtead of meeting him in the

1657. *Painted Chamber*, where he us'd to ſpeak to them, they would meet him in the *Banqueting Houſe:* Whither being accordingly come, his Highneſs made a broken kind of Speech to them, concluding thus: "I could have wiſh'd "I had given it ſooner; but truly this is my "Anſwer, That altho' I think the Govern- "ment doth conſiſt of very excellent Parts in "all but that one Thing, the Title; as to me, "I ſhould not be an honeſt Man, if I ſhould "not tell you, that I cannot accept of the Go- "vernment, nor undertake the Trouble and "Charge of it, which I have a little more "Experiment than every Man, as to what "Troubles and Difficulties do befal Men under "ſuch Truſts and in ſuch Undertakings; I ſay, "I am perſuaded to return this Anſwer to you, "*That I cannot undertake this Government with "the Title of a* KING: And that is mine An- "ſwer to this great and weighty Buſineſs."

He refuſes the Title.

Thus *Cromwell*, on the 8*th* of *May*, refus'd the Title of *King*. And here we muſt not omit a great Deſign of his, which he had purpos'd to begin his Kingſhip with, in caſe he had aſſum'd it; as 'twas related to Biſhop *Burnet* by one *Stoupe* a *Griſon* by Birth, and much truſted by *Cromwell* in Foreign Affairs. The Deſign was, to ſet up a Council for the *Proteſtant* Religion, in Oppoſition to the Congregation *de Propaganda fide*, at *Rome*. His Highneſs intended it ſhould conſiſt of ſeven Councellors, and four Secretaries for different Provinces. The firſt Province was to be, *France*, *Switzerland*, and the *Valleys*; the ſecond, the *Palatinate* and the other *Calviniſts*; the third, *Germany*, the *North*, and *Turkey*; and the fourth, the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*. The Secretaries were to have each 500 *l.* Salary, and to keep a Correſpondence eve-

A Digreſſion, concerning a noble Deſign of his in Favour of the Proteſtant Religion.

every where, to be inform'd of the State of Religion all over the World, that all good Designs by their Means might be promoted. A Fund of 100000*l. per Ann.* was to be at their Diſpoſal for ordinary Emergencies; but they were farther to be ſupply'd as there was Occaſion. *Chelſea* College was to be fitted up for them, being then an old decay'd Building, which had been at firſt erected for Writers of Controverſy. The Biſhop concludes the Account thus: "I thought it was not fit to let ſuch "a Project as this be quite loſt: It was certain- "ly a Noble one: But how far he would have "purſu'd it muſt be left to Conjecture." 1657.

To return, *Cromwell* having refus'd the Title of *King*, the Parliament ſoon Voted, "That "he ſhould enjoy the Title and Authority he "had already;" which was in many Particulars enlarg'd beyond what it was by the former *Inſtrument*, by the new one, call'd *the humble Petition and Advice*. This Inſtrument conſiſted of eighteen Articles; but we can only give the Subſtance of the chief ones, as follows: "That "his Highneſs under the Title of *Lord Pro-* "*tector*, would be pleas'd to exerciſe the Of- "fice of Chief Magiſtrate over *England*, *Scot-* "*land*, and *Ireland*, *&c.* and to govern accord- "ing to all Things in this *Petition and Advice*: "Alſo, that in his Life time he would ap- "point the Perſon that ſhould ſucceed in the "Government after his Death. That he would "call Parliaments conſiſting of *Two Houſes*, once "in three Years at fartheſt. That thoſe Per- "ſons who were legally choſen by a free E- "lection of the People to ſerve in Parliament, "might not be excluded from doing their "Duties, but by Conſent of that Houſe where- "of they were Members. That none but

He is confirm'd *Protector* by the *humble Petition and Advice* of the Parliament.

1657. "those under the Qualifications therein mentioned, should be capable to serve as Members "in Parliament. That the Power of the *other House* be limited as therein prescrib'd. "That the Laws and Statutes of the Land "be observ'd and kept; and no Laws alter'd, "suspended, abrogated, or repeal'd, or new "Laws made, but by Act of Parliament. "That the yearly Sum of a Million of Pounds "Sterling be for the Maintenance of the Navy and Army; and three hundred thousand "Pounds for the Support of the Government, "besides other temporary Supplies, as the "Commons in Parliament should see necessary. "That the Number of the Protector's Council should not be above one and twenty; "whereof the *Quorum* to be seven and not "under. The chief Officers of State, as "Chancellors, Keepers of the great Seal, *&c.* "to be approv'd by Parliament. That his "Highness would encourage a Godly Ministry "in these Nations; and that such as do revile "or disturb them in the Worship of God, may "be punish'd according to Law; and where "the Laws are defective, new ones to be made "in that Behalf. That the Protestant Christian Religion, as it is contain'd in the Old and "New Testaments, be asserted and held forth "for the publick Profession of these Nations, "and no other; and that a *Confession of Faith* "be agreed upon and recommended to the People of these Nations; and none be permitted "by Words or Writings, to revile or reproach the said *Confession of Faith*, &c."

This Instrument being digested and agreed upon, the House sent to the Protector for an Audience; which he appointed to be on the 25*th* of *May*, in the *Banqueting-House*. The Mem-

Members waiting upon him accordingly, their Speaker *Widdrington* preſented and read the ſaid Inſtrument to him, and deſir'd his Aſſent; which, after a long Pauſe, he with all the Geſtures of Concern and Perplexity, granted; and then declar'd to them as follows: "That he came thither that Day, not "as to a Triumph, but with the moſt ſerious "Thoughts that ever he had in all his Life, be- "ing to undertake one of the greateſt Burdens "that ever was laid upon the Back of any hu- "man Creature; ſo that without the Support "of the Almighty, he muſt ſink under the "Weight of it, to the Damage and Prejudice "of theſe Nations. This being ſo, he muſt "ask Help of the Parliament, and of thoſe "that fear God, that by their Prayers he "might receive Aſſiſtance from God: for no- "thing elſe could enable him to diſcharge ſo "great a Duty and Truſt. That ſeeing this "was but an Introduction to the carrying on "of the Government of theſe Nations, and "there were many Things which could not "be ſupply'd without the Aſſiſtance of Parlia- "ment, it was his Duty to ask their Help in "them: Not that he doubted; for the ſame "Spirit that had led the Parliament to this, "would eaſily ſuggeſt the reſt to them. For "his Part, nothing would have induc'd him "to take this unſupportable Burden to Fleſh "and Blood, but that he had ſeen in the Par- "liament a great Care in doing thoſe Things "which might really anſwer the Ends that "they had engag'd for, and make clearly for the "Liberty of the Nation, and for the Intereſt "and Preſervation of all ſuch as fear God un- "der various Forms: And if theſe Nations "were not thankful to them for their Care

1657.

He paſſes it, and makes a Speech to the Members.

1657. " therein, it would fall as a Sin upon their " Heads. That yet there were ſome Things " wanting that tended to Reformation, to the " diſcountenancing Vice and the Encourage- " ment of Virtue: But he ſpake not this, as " in the leaſt doubting their Progreſs, but as " one that did heartily deſire, to the end that " God might crown their Work, that in their " own Time, and with what ſpeed they judg'd " fit, thoſe Things might be provided for." The Speech being ended, the Members return'd again to their Houſe; and thus did his Highneſs accompliſh a chief Part of what he deſign'd, which was to have his Power and Authority confirm'd by Parliament.

CHAP. VII.

From his being confirm'd Protector *by the Parliament's* humble Petition and Advice, *to his* Death. *Concluding with ſome Account of his* Character, *and his pompous* Funeral.

His ſolemn *Inauguration.*

CROMWELL having thus accepted of the Government from the Hands of the Parliament, 'twas thought fit he ſhould have a ſolemn *Inauguration*; which was accordingly appointed to be on the 26th of *June*, and the Houſe ordered the Maſter of the Ceremonies to give notice thereof to all foreign Ambaſſadors and Miniſters. *Weſtminſter-Hall* was prepar'd for this Solemnity, and adorn'd and beautify'd as ſump-

ſumptuouſly as it could be for a *Coronation*. At the upper end there was an Aſcent raiſed, where a Chair and Canopy of State was ſet, and a Table with another Chair for the Speaker; and Seats were likewiſe built up for the Members of Parliament, the Judges and Officers, and for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. All Things being prepar'd, the Lord Protector came out of a Room adjoining to the Lords Houſe (having come thither from *Whitehall* by Water) and in this Order proceeded into the Hall. Firſt went his Gentlemen, then a Herald; next the Aldermen, another Herald, and the Attorney-General; then the Judges, then *Norroy* King at Arms, the Lords Commiſſioners of the Seal, and of the Treaſury; then *Garter* King at Arms, and after him the Earl of *Warwick* carrying the Sword bare-headed before the Protector, and the Lord Mayor *Tichburn* carrying the City Sword. His Highneſs ſtanding up under a Cloth of State, the Speaker of the Parliament made the following Speech to him. 1657.

" *May it pleaſe your Highneſs*, You are now " upon a great Theatre, in a large Choir of " People: You have the Parliament of *Eng-* " *land*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* before you: On " your Right Hand my Lords the Judges; " and on your Left Hand, the Lord Mayor, " Aldermen and Sheriffs of *London*, the moſt " noble and populous City of *England*. The " Parliament with the Interpoſition of your " Suffrage makes Laws; and the Judges, and " Governours of *London* are the great Diſpen- " ſers of thoſe Laws to the People. The Oc- " caſion of this Convention and Intercourſe, " is to give an *Inveſtiture* to your Highneſs " in that eminent Place of *Lord Protector*; a

1657. "Name which you had before, but it is now "ſettled by the full unanimous Conſent of the "People of theſe three Nations aſſembled in "Parliament: You have no new Name, but a "new Date added to the old Name; the ſix-"teenth of *December* is now changed to the "Twenty ſixth of *June*."

Then he ſaid, he was commanded by the Parliament to make Oblation to his Highneſs of four Things in order to his Inauguration. At which, being aſſiſted by the Earl of *Warwick* and *Whitelock*, he veſted his Highneſs with a Robe of Purple-Velvet lin'd with Ermines; telling him, *It was an Emblem of Magiſtracy, and imported Righteouſneſs and Juſtice.* Then he preſented him with a Bible, richly Gilt and boſs'd with Gold, and told him, *It was a Book that contain'd the Holy Scriptures, in which he had the Happineſs to be well vers'd; it was a Book of Books, and contain'd both Precepts and Examples for good Government.* Next he put in his Hand a Scepter of maſſy Gold, ſaying, *Here is a Scepter, not unlike a Staff; for you are to be a Staff to the Weak and Poor.* Laſtly, he girt him with a very rich Sword, with this Comment, *This is not a Military, but a Civil Sword; it is a Sword rather of Defence than Offence, not only to defend your ſelf, but alſo your People.* Then his Highneſs took an Oath, to govern the People of theſe three Nations according to Law, *&c.* Which done, Mr. *Manton* pray'd, recommending his *Highneſs*, the *Parliament*, the *Council*, the Forces by Land and Sea, and the whole Government and People of the three Nations, to the Bleſſing and Protection of God. Then the Trumpets ſounded, and an Herald proclaim'd his Highneſs's Title, and all was concluded with the

the loud Acclamations of the People, *God ſave the Lord Protector.* The Ceremonies being ended, his Highneſs with his Train return'd to *Whitehall*, and the Members to their Houſe, where they adjourn'd their ſitting to the 20th of *January* next. 1657.

Ludlow tells us, the next Day after this Solemnity, there was a Feaſt prepar'd for the Aſſembly and Officers of the Army; at which 'twas obſerv'd Major-General *Lambert* was not preſent; which occaſion'd many to ſuſpect he was declining in Favour, for obſtructing *Cromwell*'s Deſign of being King: For he ſays he was credibly inform'd, That when that Buſineſs was on Foot, the Major-General took the Liberty to tell *Cromwell*, *That if he accepted the Crown, he could not aſſure the Army to him.* Some time after, upon the Major-General's refuſing to take the Oath, enjoin'd by the *humble Petition and Advice*, not to do any Thing againſt the preſent Government, and to be true and faithful to the Protector, according to the Law of the Land; his Highneſs ſent for him, and told him, *He was well aſſur'd his Refuſal proceeded not on account of this new Authority; for he might remember, that he himſelf did at the firſt preſs him to accept the Title of* King: *And therefore, if he was now diſſatisfy'd with the preſent Poſture of Affairs, he deſir'd him to ſurrender his Commiſſion.* To this *Lambert* anſwer'd, *That having no Suſpicion that it would then be demanded of him, he had not brought it; but if he pleas'd to ſend for it, he ſhould deliver it:* Which two or three Days after was accordingly done. But the Protector not thinking it ſafe to diſguſt him entirely, allow'd him a Penſion of 2000 *l.* a Year, to keep him from any deſperate Undertaking.

Lambert diſguſted and removed.

The

1657. The Protector now in the height of his Grandeur and Power, met with one very great Misfortune, by the Death of his valiant and victorious Admiral *Blake*, after his having added one very signal Exploit more this Year to his other Glories. Having rode out all the Winter Storms before *Cadiz* and the Coast of *Portugal*, he receiv'd certain Intelligence, that another *Spanish* Plate-Fleet much richer than the former, was coming home; and for fear of the *English* Fleet had put into the Bay of *Sancta Cruz* in the Island of *Teneriff*, one of the *Canaries*. Upon this *Blake* with his Fleet weigh'd Anchor, *April* 13. and by the 20th stood off the *Offing* of the said Bay; where he accordingly found the Galleons arriv'd, to the Numbar of Sixteen Men of War. The Bay was secur'd by a strong Castle well furnish'd with great Ordnance, besides seven Forts more in several Parts of it, mounted with six, four and three great Guns a-piece, and united together by a Line of Communication from one Fort to another, which was mann'd with Musqueteers. Don *Diego Diagues*, the *Spanish* Admiral, caus'd all his smaller Ships to moar close to the Shoar, cover'd by the Castles and Forts, and posted the six large Galleons farther off at Anchor, with their formidable Broadsides to the Sea. A *Dutch* Merchant-Man was at this time in the Bay, the Master whereof perceiving the *English* were ready to enter, and that a Combat would presently ensue, desir'd Don *Diego*'s leave to depart, *For*, said he, *I am very sure*, Blake *will presently be amongst us*; to which the *Don* resolutely answer'd, *Get you gone if you will, and let* Blake *come if he dares.*

The remarkable Success of Admiral *Blake* at *Sancta Cruz*.

Blake having call'd a Council of War, and finding it impracticable to carry off the Galleons,

ons, resolv'd to burn them all: To which end, he first order'd the brave Captain *Stayner*, in the *Speaker* Frigat, with a Squadron to stand into the very Bay; who by eight the next Morning fell furiously upon the *Spaniards*, without the least regard to their Forts, and fought them almost an Hour. The Admiral seconding him, posted some of the larger Ships to Cannonade the Castle and Forts; which play'd their Parts so well, that the Enemy after some time was forc'd to leave them. *Blake* for the space of four Hours engag'd the Galleons, which made a brave Resistance, but were at last abandon'd by the Enemy; as were likewise the smaller Vessels which lay under the Forts, which were burnt by *Stayner*, whilst *Blake* did the same by the large Galleons: So that this whole Plate-Fleet, of inestimable Value, was utterly destroy'd; and which is very remarkable, as soon as ever the Action was over, the Wind, which before blew strong into the Bay, on a sudden veer'd about, and brought *Blake* with his Fleet out to Sea, without the loss of one Ship, and with no more than Forty eight Men kill'd, and a Hundred and Twenty wounded. The News of this brave and unparallel'd Action being brought to *England* before the End of the Session, the Parliament order'd a Day of Thanksgiving for this great Success, and the Lord Protector, at their Desire, sent the Admiral a Diamond Ring of 500 *l.* value, and knighted *Stayner* at his return to *England*. 1657.

Blake, after this noble Exploit, sail'd back to *Spain*, where after having kept all their Ships and Ports in awe, he return'd for *England*. But falling sick of a Fever, he died just as the Fleet was entring into *Plymouth* Sound; where His Death and Character.

1657. where he paſſionately enquir'd for the Land, but found his own Element the more proper Bed of Honour. He had a publick Funeral ſolemnly and juſtly beſtow'd upon him, and the Honour of being interr'd in *Henry* VIIth's Chappel. The Lord *Clarendon* ſays, "He was "the firſt Man that declin'd the old Track, "and made it manifeſt, that the (Naval) Sci- "ence might be attained in leſs time than was "imagin'd; and deſpis'd thoſe Rules which had "been long in Practice, to keep his Ships and "his Men out of Danger, which had been "held in former Times a Point of great Abili- "ty and Circumſpection; as if the principal Art "requiſite in the Captain of a Ship had been "to be ſure to come Home ſafe again. He "was the firſt Man who brought the Ships to "contemn Caſtles on Shoar, which had been "thought ever very formidable, and were diſ- "cover'd by him to make a Noiſe only, and to "fright thoſe who could rarely be hurt by "them. He was the firſt that infuſed that "Proportion of Courage into the Seamen, by "making them ſee by Experience, what migh- "ty Things they could do, if they were re- "ſolv'd; and taught them to fight in Fire as "well as upon Water: And tho' he hath been "very well imitated and follow'd, he was the "firſt that gave the Example of that kind "of Naval Courage, and bold and reſolute At- "chievements."

He had a very great Regard to the Honour of his Country, and the *Engliſh* Dominion of the Seas. He endeavoured to preſerve Peace and Unity among his Seamen, by telling them, "That they ſhould not liſten to any News "from Land, nor mind the Changes in the "Government, but remember that the Fleet "was

" was *Engliſh*, and that their Enemies were " Foreigners; and therefore they muſt fight " for the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation." One Inſtance of his Care to preſerve the Honour of his Country, mention'd by Biſhop *Burnet*, I cannot omit. He ſays, that *Blake* happening to be at *Malaga* with the Fleet, before *Cromwell* made War upon *Spain*, ſome of his Seamen going aſhore, met the *Hoſt*, as it was carrying about, and not only refus'd to pay any Honour to it, but laugh'd at thoſe who did. Whereupon one of the Prieſts ſtir'd up the People to reſent this Affront; and ſo they fell upon them and beat them ſeverely. The Seamen returning to their Ship, and complaining of the Uſage they had met with, *Blake* immediately diſpatch'd a Trumpeter to the *Vice-Roy*, to demand the Prieſt who had been the chief Occaſion of it: To which the *Vice-Roy* return'd this Anſwer, *That he had no Authority over the Prieſts, and ſo could not diſpoſe of him.* But *Blake* ſent him word again, *That he would not enquire who had Power to ſend the Prieſt to him, but if he were not ſent within three Hours, he would burn their Town.* And ſo being unable to reſiſt him, they ſent the Prieſt to him; who juſtifying himſelf upon the rude Behaviour of the Seamen, *Blake* anſwer'd, *That if he had ſent a Complaint to him of it, he would have puniſh'd them ſeverely, ſince he would not ſuffer his Men to affront the eſtabliſh'd Religion of any Place at which he touch'd; but he took it ill, that he ſet on the* Spaniards *to do it; for he would have all the World to know, that an* Engliſhman *was only to be puniſh'd by an* Engliſhman. And ſo he civilly treated the Prieſt, and diſmiſs'd him, being ſatisfied that he had him at his Mercy. The Biſhop ſays, *Cromwell* was exceedingly pleas'd with

1657.

An Inſtance of his Regard to the Honour of his Country.

1657. with this, and read the Letters in Council with great Satisfaction, telling them, *He hop'd he ſhould make the Name of an* Engliſhman *as great as ever that of a* Roman *had been.*

The Succeſs of the Protector's Arms Land by.

As Victory crown'd the Protector's Arms by Sea this Year, ſo his Forces by Land were not unſucceſsful. The 6000 Men which his Highneſs was oblig'd by his Treaty with *France* to provide, for acting jointly with the *French* againſt the *Spaniards*, being tranſported under the Command of Sir *John Reynolds* and Major-General *Morgan*, the *French* had no Inclination to begin upon *Dunkirk*, which when taken was to be put into *Cromwell*'s Hands, but march'd to other Places which they were to conquer for their own Uſe. But his Highneſs's Ambaſſador *Lockhart* made ſuch repeated Repreſentations to the Cardinal, complaining of their Breach of Faith, not without ſome Menaces, *That his Maſter knew where to find a more punctual Friend*, that as ſoon as they had taken *Montmedy* and St. *Venant*, the Army march'd into *Flanders* and inveſted *Mardike*, which being taken would much facilitate the Deſign upon *Dunkirk*. The *French* and *Engliſh* had not lain before this ſtrong Place above four Days, when it was reduc'd to a Surrender upon Compoſition, and deliver'd up wholly into the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. But preſently after, the *French* being withdrawn into Winter Quarters, the *Spaniards*, who were ſenſible of what great Importance this Place was to the preſerving of *Dunkirk*, detach'd a Body of Horſe and Foot to retake it. Among theſe were 2000 *Engliſh* Reformadoes, commanded by the Duke of *York*; and they made two very furious Storms upon the Fort, but were ſtoutly repuls'd, and forc'd

to

to fly, with the Loſs of ſeveral brave Commanders. 1657.

Upon the *French* King's entering into an Agreement with the Lord Protector of *England*, King *Charles* with his Family was oblig'd to leave *France* and retire to *Cologne*; where having reſided about two Years and a half, he this Year, upon concluding a Treaty with the Catholick King, repair'd to the City of *Bruges* in *Flanders*, where he found a handſome Accommodation for himſelf and his ſmall Court. About this Time, among other Methods he us'd in order to his Reſtoration, Mr. *Echard* tells us of a private Application he made to *Cromwell* which he ſays came from the Mouth of the Dutcheſs of *Lauderdale*, who told the ſame to a Perſon of whoſe Credit he could make no Queſtion. The Story is this: That this Lady, afterwards Dutcheſs of *Lauderdale*, being a particular Friend and Acquaintance of *Cromwell*'s, was employ'd to make a private Offer and Propoſal to him, in Subſtance as follows, "That if he would reſtore, or permit the King "to return to his Throne, he would ſend him "a blank Paper, for him to write his own "Terms and Limitations, and ſettle what "Power and Riches he pleas'd upon himſelf, "Family, and Friends." This Propoſal was firſt communicated to the Protector's Lady, who lik'd it very well, believing that beſides other Advantages, it would bring abſolute Indemnity and Security to her Husband, and the whole Family. She therefore took an Opportunity, when ſhe was in Bed with him, to mention the Offer to him, and endeavour'd to perſuade him to accept of it, as being of the higheſt Moment to the Happineſs of himſelf and Relations. But he, without minding her

The King makes a private Offer to him.

Argu-

1657. Arguments and Perſuaſions, preſently told her, *She was a Fool*; adding this ſhrewd Sentence, *If* Charles Stuart *can forgive me all that I have done againſt him and his Family, he does not deſerve to wear the Crown of* England.

The King keeping his Court at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, had many Conſultations with the Governor *Don John*, and was in great Hopes that the Diſtractions in *England* might at length turn to his own Advantage; which encourag'd the *Spaniards* to protect his Perſon, and accept his Arms in *Flanders*; where the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, the Lord *Rocheſter*, the Lords *Gerrard* and *Wentworth*, the Lord *Taaf*, and General *Middleton* had their ſeveral Regiments quarter'd along the Sea-Coaſt, under the Command of the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*; both to aſſiſt his Catholick Majeſty againſt his Enemies the *French*, who were ſupported by *Cromwell*, and to be in a readineſs to tranſport themſelves into *England*, if any favourable Opportunity ſhould invite them. And indeed a general Inſurrection of the King's Friends was at this Time deſign'd; to promote which, there was now publiſh'd and with great Induſtry diſpers'd a very bold Paper, entitled, *Killing no Murder*, making it not only lawful but honourable to kill the Protector, as a Tyrant and common Enemy of his Country. This put his Highneſs into a terrible Fright, and made him very vigilant to apprehend the Author, who was then conceal'd, not only in his Perſon, but in the very Suſpicion of his Name, tho' ſince generally believ'd to be Colonel *Titus*, who made a great Figure in ſome of the Parliaments after the King's Reſtoration. Some Time after this Alarm, which ſerv'd more to put the Protector upon his Guard, than to forward the

An Inſurrection deſign'd.

the Preparations of the Royaliſts, the Marqueſs of *Ormond* ſlipt over from *Flanders*, and lay privately in *London*, to quicken the Deſign, intending alſo to ſend for his Troops to puſh on the Execution of it. But the Protector, who was always good at Intelligence, had corrupted Sir *Richard Willis*, who ſeem'd to be at the head of the King's Party, and pretended a great deal of Zeal for his Service, to diſcover all their moſt ſecret Contrivances to him; and by his Intelligence, he ſet out a Proclamation for the Conſpirators before they could get into a Body; by which means many of them were apprehended, the Marqueſs of *Ormond* himſelf very narrowly eſcaping. 1657. And prevented.

The Protector now ſent his Writs of Summons under the Great Seal to divers Perſons to ſit as Members in the *Other Houſe*; the Form of which Writs was the ſame with that which was us'd to ſummon the Peers in Parliament. The Perſons who were to compoſe the *Other Houſe* were about ſixty in number; among whom were divers Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen of antient Families and good Eſtates, and ſome Colonels and Officers of the Army. Their Names were as follows: The Lord *Richard Cromwell*, the Protector's eldeſt Son; the Lord *Henry Cromwell*, his other Son, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; *Nathaniel Fiennes*, and *John Liſle*, Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal; *Henry Lawrence*, Lord Preſident of the Council; *Charles Fleetwood*, Lieutenant-General of the Army; *Bulſtrode Whitelock*, and *William Sydenham*, Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; *Robert* Earl of *Warwick*, *Edmund* Earl of *Mulgrave*, *Edward* Earl of *Mancheſter*, *William* Viſcount *Say* and *Seal*, *Philip* Viſcount *Liſle*, *Philip* Lord *Wharton*, *Thomas* Lord *Fauconberg*, *George* The *Other Houſe* of Parliament.

1657. George Lord *Eure*, *John Claypole* Esq; *Charles Howard* Esq; whom the Protector made a Viscount *John Desborough*, and *Edward Mountague*, Generals at Sea; Sir *Charles Wolsley*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, *Walter Strickland* Esq; Major-General *Skippon*, Colonel *Philip Jones*, Sir *William Strickland*, *Francis Rouse* Esq; *John Fiennes* Esq; Sir *Francis Russel*, Sir *Thomas Honnywood*, Sir *Arthur Hasserigg*, Sir *John Hobart*, Sir *Richard Onslow*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Sir *William Roberts*, Lord-Chief-Justice *Glynn*; Lord-Chief-Justice *St. John*; *William Pierpoint* Esq; *John Crew* Esq; *Alexander Popham* Esq; Sir *Christopher Pack*, Sir *Robert Tichburn*, *Edward Whalley* Esq; Sir *John Barkstead*, Lieutenant of the Tower; Sir *George Fleetwood*, Sir *Thomas Pride*, Sir *John Hewson*, *Richard Ingoldsby* Esq; *James Berry* Esq; *William Goffe* Esq; *Thomas Cooper* Esq; *Edmund Thomas* Esq; *George Monk*, General in *Scotland*; *David* Earl of *Cassils*, Sir *William Lockhart*, Sir *Archibald Johnston*, *William Steel*, Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*; *Roger* Lord *Broghil*, Sir *Matthew Tomlinson*, *William Lenthal* and *Richard Hambden* Esqrs; Some of these were Knights of the Protector's own making.

The two Houses meet, and his Highness makes a Speech to them.

The Parliament thus improv'd by the Addition of another House, met a second time on the 20*th* Day of *January*; when the Protector came as Sovereign to the House of Lords, and sending for the Speaker and House of Commons by the Black-Rod, made a short Speech to them, beginning in the old Stile, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons*; and then discoursing some Particulars which he recommended to them, thanking them for their good Correspondence the last Session, and assuring them, if they went on as they had begun, they should be call'd *the Blessed*

Bleſſed of the Lord, and Generations to come ſhould bleſs them; he left his Lord Keeper *Fiennes* to make a long Speech to them, with all the State of our antient Monarchs. 1657.

As moſt of the Nobility who had Writs ſent to them, refus'd to ſit in the *Other Houſe*, ſo Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, and ſome few more of the Commons, declin'd that Honour, and choſe rather to ſit in the lower Houſe, for which they had been elected Members by the People. Many others alſo, who had been excluded by the Protector in the firſt Seſſion of this Parliament, now ventur'd to take their Seats, upon the 3d Article of the *Petition and Advice*, by which *no Members legally choſen, were to be excluded from the Performance of their Duty, but by Conſent of that Houſe whereof they were Members*. By this means, and the Removal of thoſe of the other Houſe, who were for the moſt part taken out of this, a conſiderable Alteration was made in this Aſſembly; ſo that they ſoon began to call in queſtion, the Authority and Juriſdiction of the other Houſe, and ſeveral of the Members, particularly Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, appear'd very forward in fomenting Differences between theſe two Bodies. Upon this his Highneſs ſent for the Commons to the Banquetting-Houſe, where he exhorted them *to Unity, and to the Obſervance of their own Rules in the* Petition and Advice. But this having no Effect upon them, they went on in the ſame Way; many being againſt the Members of the other Houſe being call'd *Lords*, others entirely againſt the having ſuch another Houſe, and ſome ſpeaking reproachfully of it. Theſe Proceedings tended to their own Deſtruction; for the Protector looking upon himſelf to be aim'd at by them, and that theſe Things

Diſcord between the two Houſes.

1657. were only the Teſtimonies of their Envy towards him and his Government, began to think of putting a ſtop to all by diſſolving the Parliament. Whilſt he was revolving this in his Mind, on the 4th of *February*, he received freſh Information concerning the Diligence of his Adverſaries in all Parts; which quicken'd him to that degree, that he would not ſtay for one of his own Coaches, but taking the firſt that was at hand, with ſuch Guards as he could preſently get together, he hurried to the *other Houſe*: Whither being come, he imparted his Reſolution to diſſolve the Parliament to Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*; who earneſtly endeavouring to diſſuade him from it, he clap'd his Hand upon his Breaſt, and ſwore, *by the living God he would do it.* Then the Uſher of the Black Rod was ſent to the Commons to acquaint them, that his Highneſs was in the Lords Houſe, and there requir'd their Attendance. Hereupon they with the Speaker went up, and his Highneſs made a Speech to them, declaring ſeveral *urgent and weighty Reaſons, which made it neceſſary for him, in order to the publick Peace and Safety, to proceed to an immediate Diſſolution of this Parliament; and accordingly he did diſſolve them.*

The Protector diſſolves them.

His Highneſs was the more incens'd, becauſe at this time the Fifth-Monarchy Men were forming a dangerous Conſpiracy to overthrow him and his Government; which he ſuſpected was countenanc'd by many of the Parliament. Major-General *Harriſon* was deep in this Plot, which was laid for an Inſurrection to dethrone the Protector, and ſet up *King Jeſus.* Their chief Cabal was held in a Houſe near *Shoreditch*, where Secretary *Thurloe*, who ſpar'd no Pains or Money for his Maſter's Safety, had a

Plot of the Fifth-Monarchy Men againſt him

Spy

Spy among them, and ſuffer'd them to go on till the Night before that wherein they had appointed to rendezvous; at which time he ſent a Party of Soldiers, who ſeiz'd the chief of them as they were conſulting about the manner of putting their Deſign in Execution. Their Arms and Ammunition were likewiſe ſeiz'd, with a Standard of a *Lion Couchant*, as of the Tribe of *Judah*, with this Motto, *Who ſhall rouſe him up?* and ſeveral Copies of a printed Declaration, with this Title, *The Principle of the Remnant*, &c. The Conſpirators apprehended were *Venner*, *Gray*, *Gowler*, *Hopkins*, *Aſhton*, and others, who were carry'd Priſoners to the *Gate-Houſe*, where they lay long in a miſerable Condition, but were ſpar'd to create Diſturbance and their own Deſtruction at another time, *viz.* ſoon after the King's Reſtoration. 1657.

Shortly after, as *Ludlow* informs us, ſome Perſons who us'd to meet in *Coleman-ſtreet*, to deplore the Apoſtacy of the Times, and particularly that of *Whitehall*, were apprehended by the Lord Mayor's Officers, purſuant to the Protector's Orders, as they were coming out of their Meeting-place. Among theſe was one Cornet *Day*, who being accus'd of ſaying, *That the Protector was a Rogue and a Traytor*, confeſs'd the Words; and to juſtify himſelf ſaid, that *Cromwell* had affirm'd in the Preſence of himſelf and ſeveral other Officers, *That if he did oppreſs the Conſcientious, or betray the Liberties of the People, or not take away Tithes by a certain Time* (now paſt) *they ſhould then have Liberty to ſay, he was a Rogue and a Traitor.* He deſir'd leave therefore to produce his Witneſſes, who were then preſent, to what he had aſſerted. But the Buſineſs was ſo manag'd, Story of Cornet *Day*.

1657. that he and ſome others were fin'd and impri-
ſon'd for their Miſdemeanours.

The *Cavalier* Plot. Among all the Plots and Conſpiracies againſt the Protector at this time, the moſt formidable was that of the *Cavaliers*. But of this alſo he had timely Informations given him; upon which he ſent for the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*, and acquainted them with it, and deſir'd their Care to put the City into a Poſture of Defence. They accordingly went back with great Indignation againſt the *Royaliſts*, and took extraordinary Care of their Gates and Guards, and withal drew up an humble Addreſs to his Highneſs, promiſing the Faith of the City, and the Purſe of it, in firmly adhering to him againſt all his Enemies. Addreſſes alſo of the ſame ſtrain were made from General *Monk*'s and other Regiments, and from the *Engliſh* Forces in *Flanders*; all which his Highneſs anſwer'd with Thanks.

1658. He now thought it time to proceed againſt the Conſpirators themſelves, whom he had ſafely lodg'd in Priſon. For this Purpoſe, a *High Court of Juſtice* was erected, being founded on a Law made by the late Parliament for the Security of his Highneſs's Perſon. *Whitelock* was one of the Commiſſioners, but he tells us he never ſate with them, *it being againſt his Judgment*. Before this Court were brought Dr. *Hewet*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Mr. *Mordaunt*, with ſome others of the meaner ſort. The general Charge againſt them was, "For endea-
"vouring to levy War againſt the Government
"on the behalf of *Charles Stuart*." The particular Charge againſt Dr. *Hewet* was, "For
"diſperſing Commiſſions from the Son of the
"late King, and perſuading divers to raiſe Forces
"by virtue of the ſame." That againſt Sir *Henry*

Trial of Dr. *Hewet*, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Mr. *Mordaunt*.

Slings-

Slingsby was, "For attempting to debauch ſome "of the Gariſon of *Hull* to the Service of *Charles* "*Stuart*, and delivering a Commiſſion from "him to them." And the Priſoners of leſs Note were charg'd "With a deſign of firing "the City in ſeveral Parts, at the time ap-"pointed for the Inſurrection." Dr. *Hewet* deny'd the Juriſdiction of the Court, and argu'd againſt the Legality of it; and ſo for Contempt, after having been three times requir'd to plead, he was adjudg'd guilty of the Charge; and when he afterwards offer'd to plead, he was told it was too late. Sir *Henry Slingsby* pleaded, that he was a Priſoner at the time when he was charg'd to have practis'd againſt the Government, and that the Perſons whom he was accus'd of attempting to corrupt, had trepann'd him by their Promiſes to ſerve the King in delivering *Hull*, if he would give them a Commiſſion to act for him; which Commiſſion was an old one that had lain long by him. But all this availing him nothing, he was, together with Dr. *Hewet*, adjudg'd to die; and accordingly they were both beheaded on *Tower Hill*, notwithſtanding all endeavours that were us'd for procuring their Pardon. Six of the meaner Sort were condemn'd to be hang'd, but only three ſuffer'd; one in *Tower-ſtreet*, another in *Cheapſide*, and the third before the *Exchange*. As for Mr. *Mordaunt*, he pleaded *Not-guilty*, and after a full hearing of the Witneſſes on both ſides, the Court acquitted him by one Voice. 1658.

In the beginning of this Year, a Party of the Gariſon of *Oſtend*, with the Privity of the Governour, held Intelligence with Cardinal *Mazarine*, and then with the Protector *Cromwell*, to betray that Town into the Hands of the *French*, Deſign upon *Oſtend*.

1658. *French*, wherein the Lord Protector was to have his ſhare. *Mazarine* was to ſend a Land-Army under the Command of Marſhal *D'Aumont*, and the Protector was to furniſh a Fleet for tranſporting the Men. Articles having been agreed on between the ſuppos'd Conſpirators and the Cardinal, on *May* 14th, the appointed Day, the *Engliſh* Fleet appear'd before *Oſtend*, and the Gariſon permitted the *French* to paſs and land, who thought of nothing but an immediate Poſſeſſion of the Place. But the ſubtle Governour, having ſuffer'd the Fleet to come to a proper Diſtance, on a ſudden pull'd down the White Flag, that had invited them in, and ſet up a bloody Flag: And before the Veſſels could tack about, or get out of his reach, he ſorely gall'd them by the Cannon from the Forts; and the *French* that landed were all, to the Number of 1500, ſlain or taken Priſoners, among which laſt was the Marſhal *D'Aumont* himſelf.

The Siege and Battle of *Dunkirk*.

Preſently after this great Diſappointment, it was reſolv'd to attempt the taking of *Dunkirk*; which was accordingly inveſted by the *French*, aſſiſted by 6000 valiant *Engliſh* Men under the Inſpection of *Lockhart*, the Protector's Ambaſſador, but more immediately under the Command of Major-General *Morgan*. Whilſt they were carrying on their Approaches towards the Town, the *French* under Marſhal *Turenne* on the ſide of *Newport*, and *Morgan* with his *Engliſh* and a Brigade of *French* Horſe, on that next *Mardyke*, they had Intelligence brought them, that the *Spaniſh* General Don *John* of *Auſtria*, with the Prince of *Conde*, the Prince *de Ligny*, and the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, were advancing with 30000 Men to relieve the Place. Hereupon the *French* King and

and Cardinal were perſuaded by *Turenne* and others to withdraw their Perſons, and retire to *Calais*, and leave all to be determin'd by a Council of War. In the firſt Council, which was held without either *Lockhart* or *Morgan*, it was reſolv'd to raiſe the Siege, if the Enemy came on. But in the next, when thoſe two were preſent, *Morgan* vehemently oppos'd that Reſolution, alledging, "What a diſhonour it "would be to the Crown of *France*, to have "ſummon'd a Place, and broke Ground before "it, and then raiſe the Siege and run away;" and deſiring the Council to conſider, *That if they rais'd the Siege, the Alliance with* England *would be broken the ſame Hour.* Upon which it was reſolv'd, contrary to their former Intention, to give Battle to the Enemy, if they came on, and to maintain the Siege. And the Enemy coming on, a deſperate Fight enſu'd, in which the *Spaniards* were in a manner totally routed by the *Engliſh*, before the *French* came in. At the end of the Purſuit, Marſhal *Turenne*, with above a hundred Officers, came up to the *Engliſh*, alighted from their Horſes, and embracing the Officers ſaid, "They never ſaw a more "glorious Action in their Lives, and that they "were ſo tranſported with the ſight of it, that "they had not Power to move, or do any "thing." The *Spaniſh* Army being entirely vanquiſh'd, the Confederates renew'd their Attempts upon the Town of *Dunkirk* with great Vigor and Induſtry; and the Marqueſs *de Leda*, the Governour, being mortally wounded, as he was ſallying out upon the Beſiegers, the *Spaniards* within deſir'd a preſent Capitulation; which being granted, this important Place was ſurrender'd upon Articles, on the 25th of *June*; when it was immediatly deliver'd up into the Hands

1658.

The Town taken.

1658. Hands of the *Engliſh* by the *French* King and Cardinal in Perſon, purſuant to the Treaty between them and his Highneſs the Lord Protector.

A remarkable Story ſetting forth the great Policy and Power of the Protector.

And here we could not omit the following Story in relation to this Affair, in which both the Perfidiouſneſs of the *French* Court, and the Policy and Power of the *Engliſh* Lord Protector are very remarkably ſeen. It is thus related by Dr. *Welwood*. "When the *French* Army being join'd with the *Engliſh* Auxiliaries, "was on its March to inveſt the Town, *Cromwell* ſent one Morning for the *French* Ambaſſador to *White-hall*, and upbraided him "publickly for his Maſter's deſigned Breach "of Promiſe, in giving ſecret Orders to the "*French* General to keep Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, "in caſe it was taken, contrary to the Treaty "between them. The Ambaſſador proteſted he "knew nothing of the Matter, as indeed he "did not, and begg'd leave to aſſure him, that "there was no ſuch Thing thought of. Upon which *Cromwell* pulling a Paper out of his "Pocket, *Here* (ſays he) *is a Copy of the Cardinal's Order: And I deſire you to diſpatch "immediately an Expreſs, to let him know, that "I am not to be impos'd upon; and that if he "deliver not up the Keys of the Town of* Dunkirk *to* Lockhart *within an Hour after it "ſhall be taken, I'll come in Perſon and demand "them at the Gates of* Paris. There were but "four Perſons ſaid to be privy to this Order, "the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal, the Marſhal *de Turenne*, and a Secretary. The Cardinal for a long time blam'd the Queen, as "if ſhe might poſſibly have blabb'd it out to "ſome of her Women: Whereas it was found "after the Secretary's Death, that he had kept

"a

" a ſecret Correſpondence with *Cromwell* for " ſeveral Years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had ſent him the Copy of the " Order above-mention'd. The Meſſage had " its Effect; for *Dunkirk* was put into the Poſ- " ſeſſion of the *Engliſh*: And to palliate the Mat- " ter, the Duke and Marſhal of *Crequy* was " diſpatch'd into *England*, Ambaſſador Extra- " ordinary, to compliment *Cromwell*, attended " with a numerous and ſplendid Train of Per- " ſons of Quality; among whom was a Prince " of the Blood, and *Mancini*, *Mazarine*'s Ne- " phew, who brought a Letter from his Un- " cle to the Protector, full of the higheſt Ex- " preſſions of Reſpect, and aſſuring his High- " neſs, *That being within View of the* Engliſh " *Shore, nothing but the King's Indiſpoſition* (who " lay then ill of the ſmall Pox at *Calais*) *could* " *have hinder'd him to come over to* England, " *that he might enjoy the Honour of waiting up-* " *on one of the* greateſt Men that ever was, *and* " *whom next to his Maſter, his greateſt Ambiti-* " *tion was to ſerve. But being depriv'd of ſo* " *great a happineſs, he had ſent the Perſon that* " *was neareſt to him in Blood, to aſſure him of* " *the profound Veneration he had for his Perſon,* " *and how much he was reſolv'd to the utmoſt* " *of his Power, to cultivate a perpetual Amity* " *and Friendſhip betwixt his Maſter and him.*"

1658.

A ſolemn Embaſſy to him from the *French* Court.

But as all worldly Glory and Proſperity muſt have an end, ſo our Protector's Greatneſs, which expir'd only with his Life, now drew near to a Period. It has been obſerv'd by ſome, that tho' after the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, all things ſeem'd to ſucceed, at Home and Abroad, according to his Wiſh, and his Power and Greatneſs to be better eſtabliſh'd than ever, yet he never had that Serenity of Mind, after his re-

The State of his Affairs a little before his Death.

1658. refuſal of the Crown, that he before uſually enjoy'd: That he was now much more apprehenſive of Danger to his Perſon than he us'd to be, and the many Plots and Conſpiraces againſt him gave his Mind great Diſturbance; inſomuch that he grew very ſuſpicious, and more difficult of Acceſs, and was more rarely ſeen abroad than formerly. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays it was generally believ'd that his Life and all his Arts were exhauſted at once, and that if he had liv'd much longer, he could not have held Things together. However this be, 'tis certain he was greatly afflicted with the Loſs of ſome of his Family and Friends a little before his Death. He ſeem'd to be very much troubled for the Death of his Friend, the old Earl of *Warwick*, with whom he had a faſt Friendſhip, tho' neither their Humours nor their Natures were very much alike: And the Heir of that Houſe, who had married his youngeſt Daughter, died about the ſame Time; ſo that all his Relation to and Confidence in that Family was at an end. But that which chiefly diſturb'd his Peace, was the Death of his beſt beloved Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth Claypole*, who is ſaid to have earneſtly interceeded for Dr. *Hewet*'s Life, and yet in that only Inſtance had a Denial from her fond Father. She died at *Hampton-Court* on the *6th* of *Auguſt*; and her Body being carry'd by Water to *Weſtminſter*, after lying in State in the *Painted-Chamber*, was ſolemnly interr'd in *Henry* the VII's Chappel.

The Death of his Daughter *Claypole.*

He falls ſick. About a Week after her Death, the Protector himſelf, whoſe greateſt Joy, amidſt all his Anxieties and Inquietudes, was in this Daughter, fell ſick at *Hampton-Court*, whither he had retir'd ſome time before with his Council. His Diſeaſe at firſt was a kind of a Tertian Ague, which

which for about a Week continu'd under ſeveral Appearances, with Symptoms ſo favourable, that every other Day he walk'd abroad in the Palace Gardens: But finding himſelf to grow worſe, he took his Bed, and made a Will relating to his Private and Domeſtick Concerns. His Fits ſtill growing ſtronger, and his Spirits weaker, he was remov'd from *Hampton-Court* to *White-hall* (tho' *Whitelock* ſays he dy'd at *Hampton-Court*.) Here he ſoon appar'd to be delirious, and his Phyſicians began to think him in real Danger; tho' his Chaplains ſeem'd ſtill to aſſure themſelves of his Recovery; inſomuch that Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, in his Prayer to God for him, is ſaid to have expreſs'd himſelf thus, *That they ask'd not for his Life; for they were aſſur'd he had too great Things for this Man to do, to remove him yet; but they pray'd for his ſpeedy Recovery, becauſe his Life and Preſence were ſo neceſſary to divers things then of great Moment to be diſpatch'd.* His Sickneſs ſtill increaſing, ſo that he ſeem'd to be drawing near his End, thoſe of his Council being alarm'd, came to put him in mind to nominate his Succeſſor, according to the *humble Petition and Advice*. But he being now almoſt in a Lethargy, and not anſwering to the Purpoſe, they ask'd him again, whether 'twas his Will that his eldeſt Son *Richard* ſhould ſucceed him in the Protectorſhip; to which 'twas ſaid he anſwer'd *Yes*. *Ludlow* ſays the Commiſſioners of the great Seal attended for ſigning the Declaration of the Perſon to be appointed his Succeſſor; but whether he was unwilling to diſcover his Intentions to leave the Succeſſion to his Son, leſt thereby he ſhould, in caſe of Recovery, diſoblige others whom he had put in Expectation of that Power; or whether he was ſo diſcompos'd in Body and Mind,

1658.

He appoints his Son *Richard* to ſucceed him.

1658. Mind, that he could not attend that Matter; or lastly, whether he would have named or did name any other, is uncertain: But certain it is that the Commissioners were not admitted 'till the *Friday* following, when the Symptoms of Death were apparent upon him. This being his beloved and victorious Third of *September*, on which he had twice triumph'd for two of his greatest Victories, at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, on that Day, about three in the Afternoon, he expir'd; on which Day, or as some say, the Day before, there happen'd the most violent Storm of Wind that had ever been known; which we have not so strong a Fancy as to imagine with a certain Author was any thing preternatural; any more than we can believe the Prediction of Colonel *Lindsey* as to the Day of the Protector's Death, which is founded upon the Story of his making a League with the Devil; a Story which by the very Silliness of the Relation sufficiently confutes it self.

He dies.

His Age and the Time of his Government

Thus the renowned *Oliver Cromwell*, after so many great Actions, so many Toils and Troubles, and so many Plots and Conspiracies against his Life, at last dy'd quietly in his Bed. He expir'd in the sixtieth Year of his Age, five Years four Months and fourteen Days after the Dissolution of the Long Parliament, four Years eight Months and eighteen Days after he had been declar'd Protector by the *Instrument of Government*, and but one Year three Months and nine Days after his being confirm'd in that Office by the *Humble Petition and Advice*.

Some Account of his Character.

THUS having given a faithful Account of the Actions of this great Man, we might leave every one to judge of his Character from thence: How-

However, it may not be amiſs to take a ſhort View of it. As to his Perſon, he had a manly ſtern Look, and was of an active healthful Conſtitution, able to endure the greateſt Toil and Fatigue. When he appear'd firſt in the Parliament, he made no great Figure, there ſeem'd to be nothing extraordinary in him, he diſcover'd none of thoſe Talents which uſe to gain Applauſe and work upon the Affections of the Hearers and Standers-by; yet as he grew into Place and Authority, his Parts ſeem'd to be rais'd, as if he had Faculties that lay conceal'd 'till he had Occaſion to uſe them; and when he was to act the Part of a great Man, he did it without any Indecency, notwithſtanding the Want of Cuſtom. His Converſation among his Friends was very diverting and familiar, but in publick reſerv'd and grave. He affected for the moſt part a Plainneſs in his Clothes; but in them, as well as in his Guards and Attendance, he appear'd with Magnificence upon publick Occaſions. He was very temperate, ſparing in his Diet, and tho' ſometimes he would drink freely, yet never to Exceſs: He was moderate in all other Pleaſures, and after his firſt Reformation, free from all viſible Immoralities, and ſeem'd to be a great Enemy to Vice and a Lover of Virtue, always taking care to ſuppreſs the former and encourage the latter. He writ a tolerable good Hand, and a Stile becoming a Gentleman, except when he us'd to Cant, which whether it was affected or ſincere we leave others to judge. His Speeches were for the moſt part ambiguous, eſpecially in publick Meetings, wherein he rather left others to pick out his Meaning, than told them himſelf; tho' at other times he ſufficiently ſhew'd he could command his Stile according as there was Occaſi-

on

on, and would deliver himſelf with ſuch a Force and Strength of Expreſſion, that 'twas commonly ſaid, *That every* Word *he ſpoke was a* Thing. He lov'd Men of Wit, and was a great Admirer of Muſick, entertaining the moſt skilful in that Science in his Pay and Family. He reſpected all Perſons that excell'd in any Art, and would procure them to be ſent or brought to him. He was very well read in the *Greek* and *Roman* Story; but 'tis very obvious, that in governing theſe Nations, he ſtudy'd Men more than Books, ſo that his Turn was ſerv'd in all Offices. No Man was ever better ſerv'd, nor took more Pains to be ſo: No Man more cunningly div'd into the Manners of Men, and into the Tempers of thoſe whom he had any thing to do with, nor ſooner diſcover'd their Talent. And if he came to hear of a Man fit for his Purpoſe, tho' ever ſo obſcure, he ſent for him and employ'd him; ſuiting the Employment to the Perſon, and not the Perſon to the Employment: And upon this Maxim in his Government depended in a great Meaſure his Succeſs. He had indeed a wonderful Knowledge of Men, and a rare Faculty of examining and winding about the Minds of all, even his Enemies, which he could beſet with innumerable Snares and Artifices. He often made Feaſts for the Inferior Officers of the Army, and as they were eating, he would order the Drums to beat, and call in his Foot-Guards, to fall on and ſnatch off the Meat from the Table, before they had half done; after which, to make farther Diverſion, he would proceed to throwing of Cuſhions, putting burning Coals into their Boots and Pockets, and a hundred ſuch Pranks: And when the Officers had ſufficiently tir'd themſelves with laughing and ſporting in that

that manner, he would wheedle them to open their Hearts, and ſo draw from them ſome Secrets of the greateſt Moment; while himſelf, ſounding the Opinions of others, artfully conceal'd his own. He had an abſolute Command over all his Paſſions and Affections, and could ſuit his Carriage to all Companies and Occaſions. All allow he was an extraordinary Genius, and Maſter of the moſt refined Policy; that he had a great Spirit, a wonderful Circumſpection and Sagacity, and a moſt magnanimous Reſolution. His Courage and Conduct in the Field were undoubtedly admirable; he had a Greatneſs of Soul, which the greateſt Dangers and Difficulties rather animated than diſcourag'd; and his Diſcipline and Government of the Army was in all Reſpects ſuch as might become the moſt renowned and accompliſh'd General. "He muſt, "ſays the Lord *Clarendon*, have had a wonderful Underſtanding in the Natures and Humours of Men, and as great a Dexterity in "applying them, who, from a private and "obſcure Birth (tho' of a good Family) without Intereſt or Eſtate, Alliance or Friendſhip, "could raiſe himſelf to ſuch a Height, and "compound and knead ſuch oppoſite and contradictory Tempers, Humours, and Intereſts, "into a Conſiſtence that contributed to his Deſigns, and to their own Deſtruction; whilſt "himſelf grew inſenſibly powerful enough to cut "off thoſe by whom he had climb'd, in the "Inſtant that they projected to demoliſh their "own Building."

Ambitious he certainly was to a very high Degree, and yet at the ſame time ſeem'd to have a paſſionate Regard to the publick Good; and if this was really the Caſe, the former ſeems to have ſo far blinded him, as to make him

think many Things were for the publick Good which really were not ſo; for many Things he did which cannot but be acknowledg'd to be contrary to the known Rights and Liberties of the People: But how far the Neceſſity of Affairs, and the Confuſion and unſettled State the Nation was then in, how far this extraordinary Caſe I ſay might juſtify ſuch Proceedings in ſome Inſtances, in order to prevent greater Confuſions and Diſtractions, or whether this was really *Cromwell*'s Deſign in thoſe Proceedings, I leave the Reader to judge. But whatever Cenſure we are to paſs upon his Actions of this kind, it is allow'd by all, even by his Enemies, that he perform'd many great and laudable Things, to the Honour and Advantage of the Nation. One of them reckons them up thus: " 1. By *Blake* he more humbled " and ſubdu'd the *Algerine*, *Tripoli* and *Tunis* " Pirates, than ever any before or ſince did. " 2. *Weſtminſter-Hall* was never repleniſh'd " with more learned and upright Judges than " by him; nor was Juſtice either in Law or " Equity in Civil Caſes, more equally diſtri- " buted, where he was not a Party. 3. When " the *Norway* Traders repreſented to him the " Miſchief and Inconveniencies of the Act of " Navigation, he, during his time, diſpenſed " with it, and permitted the *Engliſh* to trade " to *Norway* for Timber, Maſts, Pitch, Tar, " and Iron, as before the Act: And by a Law " made in his third Parliament, Licenſe is gi- " ven to tranſport Fiſh in foreign Bottoms. " 4. Tho' he play'd the Fool (to uſe our Au- " thor's own Words) in making War with " *Spain*, and Peace with *France*, yet he made " a more advantagious Treaty of Commerce " for the *Engliſh* to *France*, than before they

" had

" had. 5. Tho' he join'd Forces with the " *French* againſt the *Spaniards*, yet he reſerv'd " the Sea-Towns conquer'd from the *Spaniard*, " to himſelf; and ſo had *Dunkirk* and *Mar-* " *dike* deliver'd up to him, and would have had " *Oſtend*, if the Gariſon had not cheated both " *Mazarine* and him; thereby to be Arbitra- " tor over the *French*, as well as *Spaniards*, " when he pleas'd. 6. *Cromwell* out-vy'd the " beſt of our Kings, in rendring our Laws to " the Subject in the *Engliſh* Tongue: For tho' " *Edward* I. permitted Pleading in the *Engliſh* " Tongue, yet he went no farther; whereas " *Cromwell* render'd not only the Pleadings, " but Practice, and Laws themſelves into *Eng-* " *liſh*." In ſhort, he apply'd himſelf ſo induſtriouſly to the Buſineſs of the Commonwealth, and diſcover'd ſuch Abilities for managing it, that his greateſt Enemies acknowledged he was not unworthy of the Government, if his Way to it had been juſt and innocent. And he ſhew'd his good Underſtanding in nothing more, than in ſeeking out capable and worthy Men for all Employments, but more particularly for the Courts of Law, which gave a general Satisfaction.

Tho' he was brave in his Perſon, yet he was wary in his Conduct; for from the time he was firſt declar'd Protector, he always wore a Coat of Mail under his Clothes. He was very cautious and reſerv'd whenever there was occaſion, and in Matters of greateſt Moment truſted none but his Secretary *Thurloe*, and oftentimes not him; an inſtance of which the Secretary us'd to tell of himſelf: " That he was " once commanded by *Cromwell* to go at a cer- " tain Hour to *Grays-Inn*, and at ſuch a " Place deliver a Bill of 20000 *l.* payable to

" the Bearer at *Genoa*, to a Man he ſhould " find walking in ſuch a Habit and Poſture as " he deſcrib'd him, without ſpeaking a Word." *Thurloe* did as he was order'd; and never knew to his dying Day, either the Perſon or the Occaſion. At another time the Protector came late at Night to *Thurloe*'s Office, to give him Directions about ſomething of great Importance and Secrecy; which having done, he obſerv'd that Mr. *Moreland*, one of the Clerks, was in the Room, ſeeming to be aſleep upon his Desk; but ſuſpecting he might not really be ſo, and that he might have over-heard their Diſcourſe, he preſently drew a Ponyard, which he always carry'd under his Coat, and would have diſpatch'd him upon the Spot, if *Thurloe* had not earneſtly intreated him to deſiſt, and aſſur'd him that *Moreland* having ſat up two Nights together, was now certainly faſt aſleep.

No Prince ſeem'd to be Maſter of ſo much, and ſo particular Intelligence, as *Cromwell*; of which we have given ſome remarkable Inſtances in the foregoing Hiſtory, and ſhall here add one more, as wonderfully as any of the reſt: A Gentleman who had ſerv'd the late King, deſir'd leave of the Protector to travel, and obtain'd it on Condition *he ſhould not ſee* Charles Stuart. Accordingly arriving at *Cologn*, he ſent to deſire of the King that he might wait on him by Night, which was agreed to. And when had fully diſcours'd of the Buſineſs he came about, he took leave, having receiv'd a Letter which he ſew'd within the Crown of his Hat. Upon his Return to *England*, he came with Confidence to the Protector; and being ask'd by him, *if he had punctually perform'd his Promiſe*, he anſwer'd, *that he had: But*, ſaid his Highneſs, *who was it that put out the Candles when you ſpoke to* Charles

Charles Stuart? The Gentleman was ſtartled at this unexpected Queſtion; and the Protector farther demanding, *What he ſaid to him*, he anſwer'd, *nothing at all. Did he not ſend a Letter by you then?* ſaid *Cromwell*; and the Gentleman denying that alſo, *Cromwell* took his Hat, and having found the Letter, ſent him immediately to the *Tower*.

His maintaining the Honour of the Nation in all foreign Parts gratify'd the Temper which is very natural to *Engliſhmen*. Of this he was ſo careful, that tho' he was not a crown'd Head, yet his Ambaſſadors had all the Reſpects and Honours paid them, which our Kings Ambaſſadors ever had. He would ſay, *That the Dignity of the Crown was upon the account of the Nation, of which the King was only the Repreſentative Head; and therefore the Nation being ſtill the ſame, he would have the ſame Reſpect paid to his Miniſters.* And 'tis very obſervable, that *Lockhart*, *Cromwell*'s Ambaſſador in *France* and Governour of *Dunkirk*, told Biſhop *Burnet*, *That when he was ſent afterwards Ambaſſador by King* Charles, *he found he had nothing of that Regard that was paid him in* Cromwell's *Time*.

Few Princes ever bore their Character higher upon all Occaſions than our Protector, eſpecially in his Treaties with crown'd Heads. And it's a Thing without Example, that's related by one of the beſt inform'd Hiſtorians of the Age, namely, *Puffendorf*, in the Life of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, That in *Cromwell*'s League with *France* againſt *Spain*, he would not allow the *French* King to call himſelf King of *France*, but King of the *French*; whereas he took to himſelf not only the Title of Protector of *England*, but likewiſe of *France*,

And which is yet more ſurprizing, in the Inſtrument of the Treaty, the Protector's Name was put before the *French* King's. *France* indeed was then under a Minority, and was not arriv'd to that Power and Greatneſs, which it afterwards attain'd to; towards which our Protector contributed not a little, by that Alliance with *France* againſt *Spain*, which was the falſeſt ſtep he ever made with reſpect to the Repoſe of *Europe*. *Cromwell*'s Influence was ſo great in *France*, that the Cardinal durſt not deny him any Thing, which he took very hard, and complain'd of to thoſe he could be free with. He one Day made a viſit to Madam *Turenne*, and when he took his leave of her, ſhe, as ſhe was wont to do, beſought him to continue gracious to the Churches. Upon which *Mazarine* told her, " That he knew not " how to behave himſelf; if he adviſ'd the " King to puniſh and ſuppreſs their Inſolence, " *Cromwell* threatned him to join with the " *Spaniard*; and if he ſhew'd any Favour to " them, at *Rome* they accounted him an *Heretick*." 'Twas ſaid, that the Cardinal would change Countenance, when he heard *Cromwell* nam'd; ſo that it paſs'd into a Proverb in *France*, That *he was not ſo much afraid of the Devil, as of* Oliver Cromwell.

Spain dreaded him, and courted his Friendſhip, as much as *France*, tho' the latter prevail'd. When the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was inform'd, that the Fleet under *Penn* and *Venables* was gone towards the *Weſt-Indies*, and that the Storm was likely to fall upon ſome of his Maſter's Territories, he apply'd himſelf to the Protector, to know whether he had any juſt Ground of complaint againſt the King his Maſter; if ſo, he was ready to give him all poſſible

ble Satisfaction. The Protector demanded a Liberty to trade to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, and the Repeal of the Laws of the *Inquiſition*: To which the Ambaſſador reply'd, *That his Maſter had but two Eyes, and that he would have him to put them both out at once.*

The States of *Holland* ſo dreaded him, that they were very careful to give him no manner of Umbrage: And when at any time the King or his Brothers came to ſee their Siſter, the Princeſs of *Orange*, within a Day or two after they us'd to ſend a Deputation to acquaint them, that *Cromwell* had oblig'd them to give them no Harbour. When King *Charles* was ſeeking for a Pretext for a War with the *Dutch* in 1672, he made this one, That they ſuffer'd ſome of his rebellious Subjects to live in their Country. *Borel* their Ambaſſador anſwer'd, That it was a Maxim of long ſtanding among them, not to enquire upon what Account Strangers came to live in their Dominions, but to entertain them all, unleſs they had been guilty of conſpiring againſt the Perſons of Princes. The King thereupon telling him, how they had us'd him and his Brothers, the Ambaſſador with much Simplicity anſwer'd, *Alas, Sir, that was another Thing:* Cromwell *was a great Man, and made himſelf be fear'd both by Land and Sea.* To which the King reply'd, *I'll make my ſelf be fear'd too in my Turn.* But, as is obſerv'd, he was ſcarce as good as his Word.

To conclude, even the *Turks* ſtood in awe of *Cromwell*, and durſt not offend him. And all *Italy* trembled at his Name, and ſeem'd under a panick Fear as long as he liv'd; which was not without Reaſon, nothing being more uſual than his ſaying, *That his Ships in the* Mediterranean *ſhould viſit* Civita Uecchia, *and the Sound*

of his Cannon ſhould be heard in Rome. But in the midſt of all this Power and Grandeur, Death came upon him, and put an end to all his high Projects and daring Deſigns.

His magnificent lying in State.

We ſhall now conclude all with a particular Account of the magnificent Funeral of this great Man. The Corps, at leaſt in appearance, was on the *26th* of *September* at Night privately remov'd from *Whitehall* in a Mourning Hearſe, attended by his domeſtick Servants, to *Somerſet-Houſe*. A few Days after, his Effigies was with great State and Magnificence expos'd openly, Multitudes daily flocking to ſee the Sight, which appear'd in this Order. The firſt Room was wholly hung with Black; at the upper end of which, was plac'd a Cloth and Chair of State. In like manner were the ſecond and third Rooms, all having Scutcheons very thick upon the Walls, and Guards of Partizans for People to paſs through. The fourth Room was compleatly hung with black Velvet, the Cieling being alſo cover'd with the ſame. Here lay the Effigies under a noble Canopy of black Velvet, apparell'd in the moſt magnificent Robes, lac'd with Gold, and furr'd with Ermines, with a Scepter in one Hand, and a Globe in the other, and a Sword hanging by its Side, and a rich Cap on the Head ſuitable to the Robes. Behind the Head was plac'd a Chair and Cuſhion of Tiſſu'd Gold, in which lay an imperial Crown, beſet with Diamonds and other precious Stones. The Bed of State on which the Effigies lay, was cover'd with a large Pall of black Velvet, under which was a Holland Sheet, born up by ſix Stools cover'd with Cloth of Gold. The Bed was incloſ'd with Rails and Balaſters, and, beſides ſolemn Mourners, ſurrounded with Banners,

ners, Banrols, and all kinds of Trophies of military Honours. Within the Rails ſtood eight ſilver Candleſticks about five Foot high, with white Wax Tapers ſtanding in them, of three Foot long. At each Corner of the Rails was erected an upright Pillar, which bore on their Tops Lions and Dragons, holding in their Paws Streamers crowned. The Effigies having for ſome Weeks continu'd in this Poſture, on the firſt of *November* was remov'd into the great Hall, where with new Ornaments and Ceremony it was plac'd, ſtanding upon an Aſcent under a Cloth of State, with the imperial Crown upon the Head. Four or five hundred Candles ſet in flat ſhining Candleſticks, were ſo plac'd round near the Roof of the Hall, that the Light they gave ſeem'd like the Rays of the Sun: By all which his late Highneſs was repreſented as now in a State of Glory.

His pompous Funeral.

Having remain'd thus till the 23*d* of *November*, the waxen Effigies of the Protector, with the Crown on his Head, Sword by his Side, Globe and Scepter in his Hands, was plac'd in a ſtately open Chariot, cover'd all over with black Velvet, and drawn by ſix Horſes cover'd with the ſame, both Chariot and Horſes being adorn'd with Plumes and other Ornaments. The Streets from *Somerſet-Houſe* to *Weſtminſter-Abby* were guarded on both ſides of the Way by Soldiers in new Red Coats and black Buttons, with their Enſigns wrapt in Cypreſs. The Proceſſion was in the following Manner: Firſt of all went a Marſhal attended by his Deputy, and thirteen more on Horſe-back, to clear the Way: After theſe follow'd the poor Men of *Weſtminſter* by two and two, in mourning Gowns and Hoods; and next to them, the Servants of thoſe Perſons of Quality that attend-

tended the Funeral. Then came the Protector's late domeſtick Servants, with his Bargemen and Water-men, follow'd by the Servants of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*; after whom follow'd the Gentlemen Attendants on foreign Ambaſſadors and publick Miniſters. After theſe march'd the poor Knights of *Windſor* in Gowns and Hoods, then the Clerks, Secretaries, and Officers of the Army, Admiralty, Treaſury, Navy, and Exchequer; next, the Commiſſioners of the Exciſe, of the Army, and Committee of the Navy. Then march'd the Commiſſioners for Approbation of Preachers; and behind them, all the Officers, Meſſengers, and Clerks belonging to the Privy Council, and both Houſes of Parliament. Next in order follow'd his late Highneſs's Phyſicians, the Head Officers of the Army, the Officers and Aldermen of *London*, the Maſters of *Chancery*, and the Protector's Council at Law; the Judges of Admiralty, Judges in *Wales*, and Maſter of Requeſts; the Barons of the Exchequer, Judges of both Benches, and the Lord Mayor of *London*; the Perſons ally'd in Blood to the Protector, and the Members of the late *Other Houſe*; the publick Miniſters of foreign Princes; the *Dutch* Ambaſſador alone, having his Train held up by four Gentlemen; then the *Portugal* Ambaſſador, and the *French* Ambaſſador, in like manner; the Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and his Highneſs's Privy-Council. Theſe all mov'd in a ſolemn and pompous Proceſſion, each Diviſion or Company being diſtinguiſh'd by Drums, Trumpets, Banners and led Horſes. Then came the Chariot with the Effigies, on each ſide of which were ſix Banrols born by ſeveral Perſons; and likewiſe

ſeve-

ſeveral Pieces of the Protector's Armour, carry'd by eight Officers of the Army, attended by the Heralds. Next went *Garter* Principal King at Arms, attended by a Gentleman on each Hand bare-headed; and then came the chief Mourner: After which follow'd the Horſe of Honour, in very rich Trappings embroider'd on Crimſon-Velvet, and adorn'd with white, red, and yellow Plumes, being led by the Maſter of the Horſe. The Rear of this noble Shew was brought up by the Protector's Guard of Halberdiers, the Warders of the *Tower*, and a Troop of Horſe. The Effigies being brought in this manner to the *Weſt* End of the *Abby* Church, was taken from the Chariot by ten Gentlemen, and carry'd thro' the Church under a Canopy of State up to the *Eaſt* End, where it was plac'd in a moſt magnificent Structure built for that Purpoſe, to remain for a certain Time expos'd to publick View.

After all, as the Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory of* England obſerves in his Notes, it remains a Queſtion, where his Body was really buried: It was in appearance in *Weſtminſter-Abby*; ſome report it was carry'd below *Bridge* and thrown into the *Thames*; but 'tis moſt probable, that 'twas buried in *Naſeby Field*. This Account, ſays he, is given, as averr'd, and ready to be depos'd, if occaſion requir'd, by Mr. *Barkſtead* Son to *Barkſtead* the Rigicide, who was about 15 Years Old at the time of *Cromwell*'s Death: "That the ſaid *Barkſtead* his Father being Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and a great Confident of *Cromwell*'s, did among other ſuch Confidents, in the Time of his Illneſs, deſire to know where he would be bury'd: To which the Protector anſwer'd,

"*Where*

" *Where he had obtain'd the greateſt Victory and* " *Glory, and as nigh the Spot as could be gueſs'd,* " *where the Heat of the Action was,* viz. in the " Field at *Naſeby, Com. Northampton.* Which " accordingly was thus perform'd: At Mid- " night, ſoon after his Death, the Body (be- " ing firſt embalmed and wrapt in a Leaden " Coffin) was in a Hearſe convey'd to the ſaid " Field, Mr. *Barkſtead* himſelf attending, by " Order of his Father, cloſe to the Hearſe: " Being come to the Field, they found, about " the midſt of it, a Grave dug about nine Foot " deep, with the Green Sod carefully laid on " one ſide, and the Mould on the other; in " which the Coffin being put, the Grave was " inſtantly fill'd up, and the green Sod laid " exactly flat upon it, Care being taken that " the ſurplus Mould ſhould be clean remov'd. " Soon after, the like Care was taken, that " the Field ſhould be entirely ploughed up, " and it was ſown three or four Years ſucceſ- " ſively with Corn." Several other material Circumſtances, ſays the foremention'd Author, the ſaid Mr. *Barkſtead* (who now frequents *Richard*'s Coffee-Houſe within *Temple-Bar*) relates, too long to be here inſerted.



A

POEM

Upon the Death of

OLIVER CROMWELL,

Lord Protector.

By Mr. *WALLER.*

WE muſt reſign! Heav'n his great Soul does claim
In Storms as loud as his immortal Fame:
His dying Groans, his laſt Breath, ſhake our Iſle,
And Trees uncut fall for his Fun'ral Pile:

About

About his Palace their broad Roots are toſt

Into the Air: So *Romulus* was loſt:

New *Rome* in ſuch a Tempeſt miſs'd her King;

And from obeying, fell to worſhipping.

ON *Oeta*'s Top thus *Hercules* lay dead,

With ruin'd Oaks and Pines about him ſpread;

Thoſe his laſt Fury from the Mountain rent:

Our dying Hero, from the Continent

Raviſh'd whole Towns, and Forts from *Spaniards* reft,

As his laſt Legacy to *Britain* left.

THE Ocean which ſo long our Hopes confin'd,

Cou'd give no Limits to his vaſter Mind:

Our

Our Bounds Enlargement was his lateſt
Toil;
Nor hath he left us Pris'ners to our Iſle:
Under the Tropick is our Language
ſpoke,
And part of *Flanders* hath receiv'd our
Yoke.

FROM Civil Broils he did us diſen-
gage;
Found nobler Objects for our Martial
Rage:
And, with wiſe Conduct, to his Country
ſhew'd
The ancient Way of conquering abroad.

UNGRATEFUL then, if we no Tears
allow
To him, that gave us Peace and Empire
too!
Princes that fear'd him, grieve, concern'd
to ſee
No Pitch of Glory from the Grave is free.

Nature

Nature herſelf took Notice of his Death,
And, ſighing, ſwell'd the Sea with ſuch
a Breath,
That to remoteſt Shores her Billows
rowl'd,
Th' approaching Fate of their great Rulér
told.



A P-

APPENDIX,

Containing a more perfect

Account of *Cromwell*'s Pedigree;

As alſo ſome Account of his Children, And of the State of Affairs till the King's RESTORATION.

THE Name of the Family from whence the Protector was deſcended, was not originally *Cromwell* but *Williams*. *Morgan Williams*, Son and Heir of *William*, of a very ancient Family in *Wales*, married the Siſter of the famous *Thomas* Lord *Cromwell*, who was made Earl of *Eſſex* by King *Henry* VIII. By her he had a Son nam'd *Richard*, who when he grew up was knighted by King *Henry*, and took the Name of his Uncle *Cromwell*, tho' he kept the Arms of *Williams*. He marry'd *Frances* Daughter and Coheir of Sir *Thomas Murfyn*; and upon the Diſſolution of the Monaſteries, obtain'd all thoſe Lands in *Huntingtonſhire*, which belong'd to any of them in that County, and which amounted to a prodigious

digious Value: And this was the firſt ſettling of that Family in that County. Of this Sir *Richard Cromwell*, we have this Story. On the 1ſt of *May*, 1540, there was held a ſolemn Triumph at *Weſtminſter* before King *Henry* VIII. by Sir *John Dudley*, Sir *Richard Cromwell*, and four other Challengers; which was proclaim'd in *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland* and *Flanders*: On the ſecond Day at Tournaments, Sir *Richard Cromwell* overthrew Mr. *Palmer* off his Horſe; and on the fifth Day at *Barryers*, he likewiſe overthrew Mr. *Cuſpey*, to his and the Challengers great Honour. He had a Son, Sir *Henry Cromwell*, Knighted by Queen *Elizabeth* in the 6th Year of her Reign. This Sir *Henry* marry'd *Joan* Daughter and Heir of Sir *Ralph Warren*, and made his chief Seat upon the Ruins of a Houſe of Nuns at *Hinchingbrook*. He was a very worthy Gentleman, and was highly honour'd and belov'd both in Court and Country. He had ſix Sons; *Oliver*, afterwards Sir *Oliver*, who made that noble Entertainment for King *James* I. mention'd *P.* 1, 2. of this Hiſtory; *Robert*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Philip* and *Ralph*. The ſecond Son, Mr. *Robert Cromwell*, who marry'd the Daughter of Sir *Richard Steward*, was the Father of our Protector. He was alſo a Gentleman of very good Reputation in his Country, and was no leſs eſteem'd than any of his Anceſtors for his Perſonal Worth.

The Protector had three Sons, *Oliver*, *Richard* and *Henry*. *Oliver* dy'd young. *Richard* marry'd *Dorothy* eldeſt Daughter of *Richard Major* Eſq; of *Hurſly* in *Hampſhire*; where he liv'd a private Life during the greateſt Part of his Father's Government; but towards the latter end of it he was ſent for by him to come

to

to Court, and made one of his Privy Council, and ſoon after was choſen by the Univerſity of *Oxford* to be their Chancellor, with which Honour he was very ſolemnly inſtall'd at *Whitehall*. He was ſaid to be nominated by his Father for his Succeſſor, tho' the Truth of it was very much queſtion'd; and 'twas thought he never deſign'd him for it, having ſcarce made any ſtep towards training him up to it. However, upon his Father's Death he was proclaim'd Protector, and was congratulated thereupon by Addreſſes from all Parts. But the Officers of the Army being divided among themſelves, and the Republican Party in particular labouring to undermine him, and reſtore their beloved Commonwealth, he found himſelf neceſſitated to call a Parliament. A Parliament was accordingly ſummon'd, which *Richard* met on the 27*th* of *January*, with the ſame State that the *Engliſh* Monarchs and his Father had done before him. They had not ſat long before great Differences and Contentions aroſe between them and the Army; ſo that the Officers being inform'd that ſome Votes were paſs'd in Oppoſition to their Deſigns, immediately ſent *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* to the Protector, to adviſe him forthwith to diſſolve the Parliament. *Fleetwood* alledg'd, *That if this were not preſently done, the Nation would certainly be involv'd in Blood. Desborough*, who was of a rougher Temper, told him, *'Twas impoſſible for him to keep both Parliament and Army his Friends; and deſir'd him to chuſe which he would prefer: If he diſſolv'd the Parliament out of hand, he had the Army at his Devotion; if he refus'd that, he believ'd the Army would quickly pull him out of* Whitehall. On the other Hand, many Members aſſur'd him, that

the Parliament would continue firm to him, if he would but adhere to them: Some Officers of the Army likewiſe, as *Ingoldsby*, *Whalley*, *Gough* and *Howard*, offer'd to ſtand by him, againſt thoſe who were call'd the *General Council* of the Army; and *Howard* in particular earneſtly preſs'd him to exert himſelf by ſome vigorous Action, ſuch as ſupported his Father's Authority to the laſt: *You are* Cromwell's *Son*, ſaid he, *ſhew your ſelf worthy of that Name: This Buſineſs requires a bold Stroke, ſupported by a good Hand; do not ſuffer your ſelf to be daunted, and my Head ſhall anſwer for the Conſequence.* Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, *and* Vane, *are the Contrivers of this; I will rid you of them, do but ſtand by me, and ſecond my Zeal with your Name.* Richard anſwer'd, *That he did not love Blood*; and being a Man of an irreſolute Temper, was at laſt prevail'd on by the oppoſite Party to diſſolve the Parliament.

Having got rid of the Parliament, the Council of Officers were for laying *Richard* aſide too; and ſo they reſtor'd the Remnant of the long Parliament, which *Oliver* had ejected, to their Seats again; and *Richard*, after a Reign of about ſeven Months and twenty Days, return'd to his former private Life. The long Parliament having ſat about five Months, were again routed by the ambitious *Lambert*; and about three Months after were again reſtor'd, by means of the Soldiers revolting from their Leaders, and declaring for the Parliament, and the Interpoſition of General *Monk*; who now march'd out of *Scotland*, and finding the Spirit of the People generally run that Way, reſtor'd the ſecluded Members alſo to their Seats again. This made ſuch an Alteration in this Aſſembly, that they ſoon diſſolved themſelves, having order'd a new

new Parliament to be ſummon'd; which Parliament meeting on *April 25th* 1660, in about a Month's Time brought in the KING.

The Protector's third Son *Henry*, married *Elizabeth* eldeſt Daughter of Sir *Frances Ruſſel* of *Chippenham* in *Cambridgeſhire*, and was by his Father made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; where his Deportment render'd him very popular, and he manag'd the Government with ſo much Diſcretion, that in a ſmall Time he brought that diſorder'd Nation into the moſt hopeful Condition of a flouriſhing State: But being call'd away by the long Parliament, upon his Brother's Submiſſion, he would not offer to reſiſt, but quietly laid down his Charge. And thus ended the Majeſty and Glory of the *Cromwell* Family, which had made not only its own, but all Neighbouring Nations to tremble.

The Protector had alſo four Daughters, *Bridget*, *Elizabeth*, *Mary*, and *Frances*. *Bridget* was married firſt to *Henry Ireton*, whom *Cromwell* left his Deputy in *Ireland*, and of whom ſo much has been ſaid in the former Part of this Hiſtory; and he dying, ſhe was afterwards married to Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*. *Elizabeth* was married to Mr. *John Claypole*, and dy'd a little before her Father: *Whitelock* ſays, ſhe was a Lady of excellent Parts, dear to her Parents, civil to all Perſons, and courteous and friendly to all Gentlemen of her Acquaintance; and that her Death did much grieve her Father. *Mary* his third Daughter was married to *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Fauconberg*, afterwards created Earl by King *William*: She had the Character of a wiſe and worthy Woman, and was thought more likely to have maintain'd the Poſt than either of her Brothers; whence 'twas commonly ſaid,

That

That thoſe who wore Breeches, deſerv'd Pettycoats better; but if thoſe in Pettycoats (meaning her) *had been in Breeches, they would have held faſter.* *Frances*, the youngeſt Daughter was married firſt to Mr. *Robert Rich*, Grandſon and Heir of the Earl of *Warwick*; and afterwards to Sir *John Ruſſel* of *Chippenham* in *Cambridgeſhire*: She was alſo a very worthy Perſon.



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